In Jacobson Collection

An unusually fine specimen of Kabyle weaving, this cloak comes from El Milia (Petite Kabylie)

[illegible]

BERBER ART

AN INTRODUCTION

17089

JEANNE D'UCEL

F 55C
255/53

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY New Delhi

709.6241
D'uc

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY
F 130
Library Regr No
INDIA

NORMAN
UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA PRESS
1932

[illegible]

Autres livres à télécharger sur le site
https://abbassa.wordpress.com

COPYRIGHT 1932 BY THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA PRESS

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL
LIBRARY, NEW DELHI.
Acc. No. 17089
Date 4.9.58
Call No. 709.6241/ Dil/C

SET UP AND PRINTED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA PRESS, PUBLISHING DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY, AT NORMAN, U. S. A., THE TYPE FACE BEING THAT DESIGNED IN 1499 BY FRANCESCO GRIFFO OF BOLOGNA FOR ALDUS MANUTIUS WITH THE ITALIC BASED ON THAT DESIGNED FOR ANTONIO BLADO, PRINTER TO THE HOLY SEE FROM 1515 TO 1567. THE END PAPERS AND COVER DESIGN AND COLOPHON WERE DONE BY OSCAR BROUSSE JACOBSON OF THE SCHOOL OF ART.
FIRST PRINTED MARCH, 1932

I WISH to acknowledge my thanks to the Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie who showed interest in my work and who supplied me with many photographs of specimens of Berber Art, not in our collection, to illustrate this book, and to my husband, Oscar B. Jacobson, whose counsel and criticism were invaluable.

JEANNE D'UCEL

CONTENTS

		PAGE
Acknowledgment		9
Chapter I	Origins of the Berbers	17
II	History	27
III	Racial Characteristics	45
IV	Prehistoric Remains	61
V	Sepulchres	67
VI	Dwellings	81
VII	Pottery	115
VIII	Jewelry	133
IX	Weaving	155
X	Other Crafts	189
XI	Symbolism	207
	Glossary	217

PLATES AND FIGURES

		PAGE
Frontispiece—Kabyle cloak		6
Plate 1	—Typical Kabyle landscape	19
2	—Snow clad Djurdjura	26
3	—In the Aurès	29
4	—Berber types	33
5	—A Chaouia woman	37
6	—Ouled-Naïl	44
7	—Tuareg Warrior	47
8	—Kbour-er-Roumia	51
9	—Kubba of Sidi Yakub	60
10	—Taourirt-Amokrane	66

PAGE

Plate 11—A group of noualas 69
12—A nomad's tent 73
13—Beni-Isguen 80
14—Berber chest (Beni Oughlis) 83
15—Berber shelf 87
16—Copper utensils 91
17—Powder boxes (Aurès) 95
18—Berber pottery from Dra-el-Mizan 99
19—Kouskous dish and sauce bowl 103
20—Two forms of the thibuk'alin from Taourirt Amokrane 107
21—Other forms of the thibuk'alin from the Beni Douala 114
22—Water jug and milk jug from the Beni Aissi 117
23—Water jug from the Beni Aissi 121
24—Pottery from near Marnia 125
25—Influence of Berber art on modern pottery 132
26—Berber pottery from the Aurès 132
27—Zeriref or diadem 135
28—Berber jewels from Kabylie 139
29—Berber jewelry (Beni Aissi) 143
30—Berber jewelry from various districts 147
31—Berber guns 154
32—Ancient yataghan and scabbard (Riff) 157
33—Kabyle cloak or blanket 161
34—Rug from the Djebel Amour 165
35—Two donkey bags (Djebel Amour; Sétif) 169
36—Modern copy of M'zab blanket 173
37—Modern M'zab rug 177
38—Modern copy of Saharan weaving 181
39—Modern Berber embroideries 188
40—Tuareg leather cushion (In Salah) 191
41—Tuareg leather cushion (Ouled-Djellal) 191

PAGE

Plate 42—Leather embroidered bag 195
43—Tuareg mortars and pestle (In Salah) 199
44—Tuareg butter jug 206
Figure 1-18—Berber Motifs of Decoration 210
19-36—Berber Motifs of Decoration 211

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY
Library Regr No
INDIA

BERBER ART

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY
Library Regr No
INDIA.

I

ORIGINS OF THE BERBERS

THERE are in North Africa two native races: the Berbers who were established there at the dawn of history, and the Arabs who first appeared in 641, then invaded the country in successive waves during the next three centuries; in addition to these, Jewish settlements are found in the towns.

The Berbers, the Barbari of the Romans, are generally believed to have supplanted, or merged with a still earlier race whose traces are found in paleolithic and megalithic remains.

Their origins are shrouded in the twilight of antiquity. Some of their dimly remembered myths seem to connect them with Crete and her fabulous King Minos, while the legend of Hercules striding forward in search of the golden apple may symbolize the story of their migrations and their settlement.

Historians, ancient and modern, differ greatly in their speculations as to where the Berbers started from, when and how they came to Africa.

According to Sallust they would be descendants of the Medes, Iranians and proto-Armenians who followed Hercules in his wanderings from the Caucasus and, after his death in Spain, crossed the straits into Africa. Sallust goes on to say that the Iranians penetrated into the interior and, mixing with the aborigines, became the Numidians (the nomads) while the others settled along the coast and intermarried with the earlier, dark

Libyans. Their descendants were called by the Phenicians, who eſtablished trading poſts among them, Ma'hourim (men of the weſt) from which came Moor and Mauretania. Salluſt while proconsul of Africa had learned all this from the traditions of the Barbari themselves.

Ibn-Khaldoun, the great Arab hiſtorian, who lived in the Fourteenth century and who has left a monumental *Hiſtory of the Berbers,* believed them to be descendants of Philiſtines who had migrated to Africa after disaſtrous wars with the Israelites and the Assyrians.

Some inscriptions found in Morocco and taken to read "We are they who fled before Jehovah" have prompted the theory that they were Canaanites; in certain myths they are called Sons of Abraham.

In the Annals of ancient Egypt several of their tribes are classified among the "Peoples of the Sea."

The theory of Salluſt has long been discredited, and we know that Hercules was only a generic name for various leaders of invading hordes. It is now generally believed that he was not far wrong in the main, however. The anceſtors of the Berbers of today seem to have come from the Caucasus, but more probably by sea, ſtarting either from the Caucasus proper or from the Greek peninsula, while other Caucasian contingents may have come by land, but through Egypt inſtead of Europe. Some invasions from Spain did take place, and this faſt probably caused Salluſt to be miſtaken, for these invasions occurred only in comparatively recent times, and, according to some authorities, (Cauvet) the Iberian invaders would have been of Celtic blood.

The Caucasus region, long considered the cradle of the white race, has been at leaſt a rallying point and a refuge for all manner of tribes and peoples in the age old exodus weſtward from Asia into Europe. From there they have ſtarted anew when the pressure from the rear became too great, or when, after recuperating, they

PLATE 1 *Courtesy of Gt. Gl. de l'Algérie*

Typical Kabyle landscape, with villages atop the lower rounded hills.

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY
Library Regr No
INDIA

felt again the wandering and conquering urge. In this seething melting pot the so-called Caucasian race may have evolved from complicated *mixings*.

Even now, the Caucasus country is the most problematic region anthropologically and ethnologically. Strabo says that in his day the Greek traders who operated in the Caucasus recognized seventy different peoples speaking as many languages. Lists made by the Roman merchants nearly a century later comprised one hundred and thirty dialects; very probably there were more. Today the diversity is as great. In spite of some researches made just before the World war by Russian scientists, many of the idioms are still imperfectly known, and the only definite thing that can be said about them is that the four great linguistic groups are known to be represented there: the declensional tongues of both the Indo-Aryan and the Semitic types, the agglutinating idioms such as are found among the yellow and the black races, and the polysynthetic tongues like those of the Basques and the Amerinds.

The great movements of peoples, the fortunes and misfortunes of war, the ever increasing need of new pasture lands have caused constant shiftings of the races through the ages, so that to trace their origins and the exact course of their migrations is well nigh an impossible task. Still M. le Commandant Cauvet searching for the origins of the Berbers, especially the Tuaregs, claims that he has found their Caucasian antecedents unmistakably in tribal names, names of African and Asiatic localities, etc.

The Berber languages, spoken from the Libyan desert to the Atlantic, and from the Mediterranean to the Sudan and the Niger, show a distinct relationship to the ancient Semitic tongues both in etymology and in syntax; on the other hand the differences are also very pronounced, and there are besides, strong Aryan affinities.

A great difficulty in the way of successful research is the fact that there are no written documents, everything that may have existed having apparently been destroyed, and that the written

script, the *tifinagh,* has been completely forgotten by all the Berbers except the Tuaregs since, with the introduction of Islam, the more pliable Arabic supplanted it and became compulsory. The *tifinagh,* as used by the Tuaregs, seems to be a decadent script; it is so lacking in rules as to be practically unintelligible to anyone but the person who wrote it. It is made of strangely angular characters, crosses and dots, the only letter showing a curve is something like O, often with a dot in the center.

Whether the *tifinagh* was a purely Berber language or the tongue of the mysterious earlier Libyans is another unsolved question. The fact that the Tuaregs have kept it is sometimes advanced for the theory that they are descendants of these ancient Libyans. But, to support the more generally accepted belief that the Tuaregs are Berbers is the fact that the Tuaregs are fair of skin in spite of the desert sun and wind, that they are often blue eyed and sometimes almost blond, that their features are pure, refined and of the Aryan type, while all ancient authors agree in describing the Libyans as dark and with features somewhat negroid.

From available knowledge it is logical to believe that the Berbers, though they now exhibit fairly homogeneous characteristics, are the result of a blending of various Aryan and Semitic stocks with some proto-African race or races, very probably sometime before the Twelfth century B. C. They may have received a small infusion of Turanian blood, while in comparatively modern times the Vandals brought still another element.

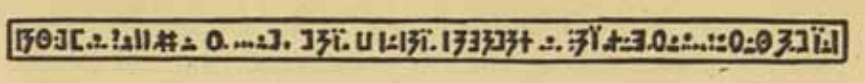
HISTORY

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY
Library Reg. No
INDIA

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY
Library Regr. No
INDIA

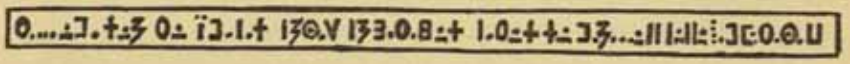
PLATE 2 *Courtesy of Gt. Gl. de l'Algérie*

The snow clad Djurdjura



II

HISTORY



THE first historical record we have of the Berbers concerns their invasions of Egypt (Hyksos, about 1788 B. C.) and at the time of Rameses the Second and again during the reign of Minephtah. They swarmed up the valley of the Nile, women along with the warriors, and we are informed by Egyptian documents that they had battle chariots and that they were armed with very long bronze swords.

After this we hear nothing of them until their struggles against Carthage, who tried to annex some of their territories at the close of the second Punic war, bring them again to notice. Making common cause with the mercenaries they brought the proud city to the brink of destruction.

In hatred of the Phenicians they welcomed Rome, but Rome kept for her own sons the power, the land, the fat offices. Today the more educated among them claim descent from the Romans; there may be a little Roman blood in their veins, but much more diluted than they like to believe, even had there been considerable mixing of the races, and we know there was very little. Furthermore, the true Romans were always few in numbers in Africa, the legionaries and colonists being recruited from all parts of the Empire.

Under the wise rule of Rome, Barbary became a prosperous land, the granary of the Empire. What a blight the Dark Ages and the

Arabs were, becomes ſtartlingly vivid when one sees the ruins of what were once thriving cities in diſtricts now arid and inhospitable. For the Arab invaders did not only deſtroy the towns and ravage the crops; they cut down the trees which impeded the march of their wandering herds, they reduced to ruins the acqueducts that carried water and the ciſterns that ſtored it. And, in this land of uncertain and erratic rainfall, when the foreſts were gone, the rich top soil was little by little washed away by the rare, but fearful downpours, and there was left exposed only a barren subsoil which the sun bakes to the conſiſtency of pottery.

Already during the Roman rule Chriſtianity had spread into Africa; in this passionate land it was soon divided by schisms and spent itself in internecine ſtruggles that involved moſt of the country.

The Vandals, led by Genseric, were invited to come, but they overſtayed their welcome by ninety nine years.

In 533 the Byzantine emperor Juſtinian sent Belisarius to recover the colony and reſtore the splendor of Roman days. But the rule of Byzantium was short and ſtormy. Out of the eaſt, Arab hordes led by Sidi-Okba, the fierce conqueror, the "messenger of Mahomed" came to convert by the sword and to subject the country from Egypt to where the Atlantic Ocean in weſtern Morocco prevented them from carrying further the banner of the Prophet. Juſt as the Berbers had welcomed Rome only to be enslaved, and helped the Vandals againſt Rome only to be again enslaved, they now acclaimed the Arabs as their deliverers from Byzantium and from the religious wars of the Chriſtian ſects.

Alas! To them Islam came as a new yoke. All their rebellions, when they discovered this, could not free them, for they were not united, although at one time they rallied around the ſtandards of a woman, the Kahena, and deſtroyed their towns, burned their goods, cut down even their palm gardens in a desperate and vain endeavor to repulse the enemy. In 698, though some hiſtorians say 703 or 705, the Kahena was murdered and her army was

PLATE 3 *Courtesy of Gt. Gl. de l'Algérie*

In the Aurès; the palm gardens and the *guelaa*

annihilated by Hassan. In the words of Ibn-Khaldoun: "Then the freedom of Ifrikiya descended to its grave, not to rise again on the third dawn, or the third moon, or the third year."

For a time the Berbers seemed to recoup themselves; several kingdoms rose in North Africa, only to be deſtroyed in the end by fresh Arab invasions.

But the Berbers had become Moslems, though it took many changes of heart and many abjurations for them to emerge into the puritanical Mahomedans they are today. In a fiery outburſt of firſt enthusiasm for the new religion, they also took to the road of conqueſt. Led by their chief Tarik they crossed from the Moorish coaſt to the Iberian peninsula; the place of their landing has since been called Djebel-el-Tarik, the rock of Tarik, now Gibraltar.

After several vain attempts to extend their conqueſts over Europe, repulsed at laſt on the plains of Poitou by Charles Martel, they settled behind the Pyrenees where, in their kingdom of Andalusia, Persian-Arabo-Berber civilization blossomed in glory.

The African kingdoms might have flourished simultaneously. There the Berbers were again triumphant. The firſt Arab invasions had passed rapidly over the land in comparatively small numbers of warriors, of whom those who ſtayed had merged into the native population. Even in Kairouan, the Moslem capital of Barbary, the autochthonous dynaſty of the Aglabides had come to power.

As in Chriſtian days, the fiercely independent spirit of the Berbers now flared up in schisms. Some tribes attempted to set up an independent kingdom, at Mehdia of Ifrikiya, and marching upon Egypt, they seized Cairo and helped enthrone the Fatimide dynaſty.

Before long they again chafed under the rule of the Caliphs whose luxury offended their puritanical conscience. They preached a return to the simplicity and democracy of the Prophet's tenets, and, separating from Bagdad and Cairo, they eſtablished an Ibadite kingdom at Tiaret (Algeria), and a Sofrite one at Sidjilmassa in Tafilalet (Morocco.) Civil war and massacres ensued in an effort to ſtamp out the schisms.

The Tiaret kingdom is ſtill remembered for the auſterity of life practised there even at court—was not King Abd-er-Rahman himſelf white-washing his house when foreign ambassadors came to call on him?—and for the heated religious discussions held there, that have caused hiſtorians to call Tiaret the Moslem Geneva.

It was to punish these attempts at secession, religious and political, that, somewhere about 1080, the Caliph El Moſtancir turned loose upon Barbary the Beni-Hillal. These nomadic Arabs who had been deported *en tribu* to upper Egypt for their banditry conſtituted a worry and a danger to the sovereign. And it was a maſterly ſtroke of ſtatesmanship that rid the country of them and at the same time effectually chaſtised the Ifrikiyan rebels. For the country was overrun and that which had weathered previous onslaughts could not withſtand this laſt one. Like human locuſts the Beni-Hillal left only desolation in their wake; where they had passed there remained neither cities, fields, nor orchards. The smiling countryside was no more, the majeſtic foreſts disappeared, and the inhabitants could only flee to the mountains and to the sands of the Sahara to escape the invaders. The Arabs were maſters over all but the moſt weſterly regions. Conſtant warfare between ambitious leaders took a heavy toll.

The hiſtory of Moslem Barbary is a record of ſtrife and ſtruggle unparalleled in any other land.

While Europe after the turmoil of the Great Invasions, coalesced in the feudal order and by degrees resolved itself into organized nations, North Africa remained in a fluid ſtate which made organization impossible and brought a never ſtemmed decadence. In the beginning her cities far surpassed in comfort and luxury as well as in culture the urban centers of weſtern Europe. But these cities were few, and we see their populations ſteadily dwindling through the centuries.

For the desert and the bleak mountains harbored a body of nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes, tumultuous and bellicose, fearless and contemptuous, daring in proportion as they had nothing

PLATE 4

Berber types. At left, Ourrad Hadj Mahomed, Kabyle jeweler of the Beni Yenni tribe; he wears the white *burnous* with the green hood of the Mecca pilgrims and around his neck is the bead rosary which proclaims him a member of the Tidjania brotherhood. At right, a Riff wearing the *djellabah*

to lose and everything to gain. Periodically some of them would swoop upon the established centers, enthroning their leader, dividing the spoils and the offices. Then would begin the insidious work of ease, riches and power. Ibn-Khaldoun gave them four generations at most for complete disintegration, which made the victory of the next virile barbarian attackers a foregone conclusion.

No wonder this great historian who had lived at court and in the *douars,* who had seen so many upheavals during his own life time, regarded civilization as synonymous with decay and shared the contempt of the nomads for the effete city dwellers, the prey of all invaders.

A key to the understanding of the history of North Africa and the character of its inhabitants exists, it seems to the author, in Ibn-Khaldoun's refutation of Averroes' understanding of the genesis of nobility. For Averroes, the Spanish Moor, imbued with European concepts, nobility sprang from birth and genealogy. For Ibn-Khaldoun, the African, birth was if anything a handicap, for it implied nurture and dangerous softening. Though, he tells us, the Arab nomads always boasted of their pure blood, he cynically adds that that purity was due mostly to the fact that nobody would intermarry with them because of their wretched lot. Aristocracy for him means intelligence, vigor, courage, and that chivalrous mutual devotion within the group which characterizes the desert tribes.

In fact, in North Africa, the European system of feudality was not able to take a hold until recent times when a somewhat similar order developed in Morocco. And the aristocracy of birth never became established since it was constantly being overthrown by new elements.

The Reconquista in Spain sent back to Africa hordes of Hispano-Moorish inhabitants. Under the leadership of these cultured and often rich exiles a kingdom was founded and Tlemcen became famous for its elegant court and for its university, particularly its medical school, attended by many of the most brilliant scholars of Europe.

But the Spaniards and the Portuguese were pursuing the Moors even on the Barbary coaſt. Religious hatred breeds bitter warfare. Helped by the Turks and by many a European renegade the Arabs and the Moors inſtituted piracy, to which they adhered long after the religious issue had waned, for the sake of the plunder, and because from the impoverished country and from the ever defiant natives they found it impossible to extract revenue.

This regime of piracy brought terror to the whole basin of the Mediterranean, and, in spite of various attempts to curb it, notably by the emperor Charles V, by Louis XIV of France, by Decatur of America, it endured until 1830 when the French at laſt put an end to the Corsairs' business.

Except in 1871 when the Kabyles of Algeria ſtaged a bloody rebellion under the leadership of a fanatical *marabout* who counted on the weakened condition of France after the Franco-Prussian war to enthrone himself, the Berber populations of Africa have been generally friendly to France, and glad for the relief she has brought them from oppression and from excessive taxation such as were the rule before.

They are now prosperous, especially in Algeria, as prosperous as it is possible for them to be, considering the poverty of their mountainous lands, considering also that under the present conditions of peace and better sanitation their population more than doubles every thirty years. They are, however, able to add to their resources by going down into the plains to work as farm laborers, workmen, small traders, etc. Since the World war they even find employment in France, and it is noticeable that the good treatment which they receive there has a tendency to increase their loyalty.

Of late years they have been buying property in the valleys and in that narrow but very fertile ſtrip of land situated between the sea and the mountains. This land which they had long ago abandoned to the Arabs and the Turks, had been allowed by its new maſters to revert to wilderness. It took unbelievable toil and countless French lives to reclaim it, to drain the fever infeſted

PLATE 5 *Courtesy of Gt. Gl. de l'Algérie*

A Chaouia woman of the Aurès; she wears besides her Aurès jewels (silver chain ornaments, necklace of gazelle dung, amulet boxes, etc.) a row of *sultanis,* or coins, around her neck

swamps, and to make of it the veritable Paradise it is today. It is aſtonishing how many acres of this land are bought every year by doughty mountaineers from the Arabs and even from European coloniſts.

The High Plateaux, once the bread basket of Rome, able to supply her with grain for eight months of the year, are yet a long way from this former ſtate and may never equal it again. Everywhere France carries the patient work of reforeſtation: but it takes money, and it takes time for foreſts to grow and bring back fertility to a depleted soil, especially since the nomads consider it their inalienable right to paſture their herds in the highlands when summer makes the desert inadequate, and, despite all efforts, they deſtroy the new tree growths at an alarming rate.

The irrigation problem is a huge and coſtly one, exceedingly difficult of solution as there is evidence that the north part of the African continent is ſteadily becoming drier. In spite of a magnificent development of date plantations in the northern oases, due to the drilling of deep artesian wells, the Sahara is drawing in reality always nearer to the mountains. Several caravan routes in use as late as the Fifteenth century have been abandoned since, as the wells that once made them possible have completely dried up.

On the other hand, north of the desert many hillsides too poor for other cultures have been rendered valuable with olives and with grapes, in Tunisia and Algeria especially. Cotton growing is being tried with success. Morocco, more fortunate in the matter of rainfall and other water supplies, probably some day will be a rich agricultural ſtate.

All along the coaſt, in Algeria particularly, climatic conditions make possible intensive raising of early fruits and vegetables, and the land there is fully as valuable as that of the orange diſtricts of California. Flowers are cultivated for perfume. Not long ago *alfa* grass was considered a bane; since the scarcity of wood pulp for paper led the world to try *alfa* and to find it so well adapted to that and to other uses, large worthless tracts are acquiring sudden value.

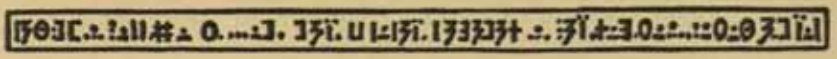
The exportation of wool and wool products, of meat, of olives and olive oil, of wine, of dates, of wheat and flour, of cork, of marble, of ceramic tiles increases year by year. The scarcity of coal and of streams has so far prevented the development of industry on a large scale. But should other forms of power come into use—the harnessing of the winds, for instance, which is seriously studied—valuable mineral resources which are known to exist could be exploited. A source of considerable wealth is the extraction of rich phosphate deposits.

France has already built a magnificent system of roads crossing the mountains and reaching the edge of the desert. This has proved one of the best means of pacification since, by making commerce and exchange possible, it has averted the terrible famines which formerly decimated a whole region whenever the crops of that region were insufficient. The building of railroads, of dams to store the precious water, of ports with good docking facilities at Algiers, Oran, Tunis, Casablanca, to name only the most important, proceeds apace.

RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS

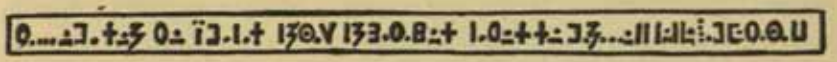
PLATE 6 *Courtesy of Gt. Gl. de l'Algérie*

Arab type. An Ouled-Naïl; she wears bracelets with the phallic emblems



III

RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS



PHYSICALLY and mentally the Berbers are different from the Arab. They lack his handsomeness and his genius for poetry, also his laziness. They are in fact very industrious; where the Arab is ashamed of working, even of knowing how to work, they take pride in their skill and in what they accomplish with it.

Since the ancient days when, after roaming, they settled down to till the soil, they have been painstaking farmers and husbandmen; through the centuries of their serfdom to the Arabs and the Turks they have managed to wring a meager living only by the hardest toil.

Up to the coming of the French the Berbers had the monopoly of trade and industry in the Barbary states. They farmed; they ran the olive presses for the extraction of oil; they milled the grain; they were fishermen; they manufactured soap; they tanned and worked leather; they wove and dyed cloth; they made baskets and potteries; they built houses for themselves and for the Arab population; they worked and carved wood. They mined iron and silver; they made domestic utensils and implements; they also made weapons and gunpowder; they manufactured brick, tile and mosaics; they quarried stone; they had acquired an enviable reputation as jewelers, wood carvers and etchers on metal.

Today they pursue the same occupations and they have entered new forms of activity. They are found as dock workers, factory

hands, porters, waiters, common laborers and even mechanics. Some of them are clerks and teachers.

In fact, if a newcomer to North Africa has difficulty in distinguishing between Berbers and Arabs due to the fact that they are all Moslems and that their costume is identical, he seldom errs in calling Berbers those who work.

The Arab, aristocratic even in rags, never lifts a finger if he can spare himself the trouble. Did not the Prophet exclaim at sight of a plow: "This brings shame to the owner." Following such a tradition the Arab only scratches the surface of his field with a bent stick and scatters seed, trusting to Allah to do the rest, confident that if Allah is not minded to send him a good crop it would be folly to set his puny will against that of his God.

On the steep slopes of their mountains the Berbers build their fields in terraces; patiently they carry soil from the valley to fill the crannies in the rocks so that some fig or olive tree may take root and grow. Bound for centuries to a scanty living they are thrifty, miserly even. Tough and wiry, with a bent for asceticism that may be racial or bred into them by centuries of hardship, they are indifferent to the rigors of their climate; they live, not always from necessity, on the simplest fare, a coarse wheat and barley *kouskous,* some figs and olive oil; only on holidays do they indulge in the luxury of mutton or wild boar stewed with apricots.

They are quarrelsome and argumentative. Already in the time of Rome they had that reputation and their country was considered a paradise for lawyers. It is not hard to account for this when one knows how tenaciously the Berber clings to his dwelling and his little patch of ground in a land where the smallest encroachment on property means suffering and want. In the Kabyle mountains of Algeria, one of the most densely populated districts in Africa, in the world for that matter, property is so scanty and so divided that even a single fig tree may belong to two or three families and as a result conflicts are frequent.

PLATE 7

Tuareg warrior. His shield is decorated with the *agahl*; on his chest are several amulets in leather cases. Instead of the flowing *burnous* he wears baggy trousers fastened at the ankles, like the ancient Gauls, and a voluminous robe of blue cotton cloth held in place by a Sam Brown-like belt

Like other mountain people they nurse the memory of hurts and slights, and vendetta is an eſtablished inſtitution among them. The fierceness of familial or tribal feuds among the Berbers is inexpressible. Whole clans have been exterminated, and the lone diſtant relative who may try to escape by leaving the country usually only poſtpones his own doom, for the Nemesis of these inflexible people pursues him in all climes. They are by nature extremely suspicious and jealous. Except for the Tuaregs among whom woman is supreme to the point of being above jealousy, the Berbers are notoriously jealous husbands of wives who are spirited and independent. On the slighteſt suspicion a husband often murders his spouse in the moſt terrible manner. While admitting the cruelty of this, Berbers excuse it by saying that with the cuſtom of the *anaïa* no woman need be unfaithful. For if a Berber woman has the leaſt reason to complain of her husband, if she is tired of him merely, she may leave him and ask any one for *anaïa* or protection; then, by all laws, human and divine, he cannot harm so much as a hair of her head.

Their mind is more prosaic and realiſtic than the Arab's, but their intelligence is more suſtained; and they are exceedingly shrewd in business. They have the reputation of honeſty and reliability, and also that of being paſt maſters in the art of money lending at ſtupendous intereſt. However, to qualify this, we muſt add that the improvident Arab who goes to them for a loan is a poor security; he hopes to the laſt that something, a cataclysm even, shall make it unnecessary for him to repay the debt, and, if there is any chance, he is apt to sell the object on which his loan was secured.

Fearless, as we know from records of the Numidian mounted legions, and essentially democratic, the Berbers have always lived in independent tribes, often at war with one another. Fundamentally unfitted by their sense of democracy and individualism to compose their tribal differences and to form a national organization, they were never able to reſiſt the invaders, although it muſt be said that they have never been entirely tamed by any conqueror.

Their love for their homeland is like that of the Frenchman for his. Away from it they feel that they are exiles. Faithfully they send all they can save from their earnings to the wife or the old parents whom they had to leave; their ambition and their hope is to return to end their days where they grew up.

Their direct descendants are the Kabyles of the Djurdjura, the Chaouias of the Aurès Mountains, the Chleus of the western Atlas, the Riffs of northern Morocco, the Tuaregs of the Ahaggar in the Sahara.

To this day the kinship of these people separated in space and in time, with hardly any possibility for regular contact, is evident in their arts, their industries, the style of their decoration, certain customs and idioms. Among them we find Berber art in its pure form.

It is of course extremely difficult to draw the line rigorously between Berber art and Arab art in North Africa, because in the cities and on the plains there was a mixing of the races. There the Berbers were not only Arabised to a certain extent, they were also influenced by other contacts.

We are also confronted by a peculiar situation which makes research more laborious: while the Berber dislikes the Arab, he sometimes poses as an Arab in order to acquire prestige socially and religiously. Whole communities have been known to do this, several villages of Algeria whose inhabitants claimed Arab descent when the French first made a census of the populations have since been found to be Berber.

The Arabs seem to have had little art of their own. Their genius lay in giving a new impulse and a mystic unity to the races which they had conquered, while building a new civilization on Persian and Byzantine traditions.

All the splendid Hispano-Moorish art which blossomed in Andalusia and on the North African coast during the heyday of Islam bears witness to the Persian and Byzantine traditions, but underneath these the Berber strain always re-appears, persistent.

PLATE 8

Kbour-er-Roumia, the tomb of the Christian woman, near Tipaza

17089

As we know, the later Arab invaders, the Beni Hillal, who brought with them their families and their herds, hardly touched what is now Morocco, and Morocco had few contacts with the Orient. It is interesting to see how different the eastern half of North Africa is from the western half. While Tunisia and nearly all of Algeria, outside of purely Berber centers, show a definitely oriental character, the old Maghreb, Morocco and the Algerian district bordering it, are Berber with here and there an Andalusian influence.

The population of Morocco is in fact almost wholly Berber: but while the Riffs, the Chleus and other mountaineers have remained pure, the rest of Morocco, particularly in the cities, is much tainted with negro blood introduced by the black slaves.

The present study deals with Berber art as it is found in districts where the Berbers have remained almost wholly untouched by outside influences. This art is the unsophisticated and spontaneous expression of a people's philosophy of life.

Because it is created by the people for themselves alone without consideration of commerce and exploitation it is very difficult to find examples of it outside of its own limited habitat.

And because it is characterized by bold vigor instead of prettiness, perhaps also because it is so rarely available, it is little known and little appreciated. We were unable to find more than the vaguest data in Algiers, although we searched everywhere and we questioned many people. In the end we had to go into the interior, into the remote districts to find specimens and to study the techniques in use. To our chagrin we were often unable to purchase pieces which seemed to us especially desirable, but which were not for sale. And no wonder! Money meant little in the mountain villages where barter is still the accepted form of trade. If the women sold us a jar or a blanket there was no store nearby where they could purchase new ones. It meant that they would have to get along without these necessaries all the while they manufactured others; they saw no reason why they should deprive themselves just to please us.

But, even when we returned empty-handed, we could keep the memory of our thrilling contact with this virile and fresh, if primitive, art. As our wanderings brought us into the footsteps of Roman and Arab conquerors the tragic history of this Berber land became an actuality, a living fact to us, the people a fascinating study in character.

We saw lean, wiry men trudge barelegged in the snows of the Djurdjura (and January in the Djurdjura is bitter cold) and we thought of the Numidian king Massinissa who at eighty-four broke wild stallions and hunted panthers; we remembered that Sallust, speaking of the Berbers and of their hardihood, said: "They perish by fire or by the teeth of wild animals, rarely do they die of disease."

How like the stern beauties we encountered must have been their Kahena, the proud and beautiful queen, as fierce, as relentless as a tigress! For the Berber women are not fat and soft like the urban Arabs. Theirs is the grace of Diana the huntress. Not even Islam could veil them or tame their spirit. Though, as a rule, they work harder than the Arab women, they have a higher standing in the social scheme. They even have a voice, a respected voice, in the affairs of the community or the tribe, provided the time is past when their beauty can sway the minds and hearts of men. Alas! we were not allowed to photograph the really handsome ones.

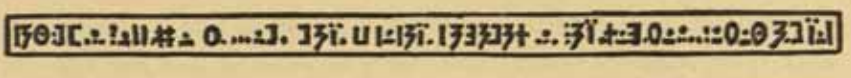
The Berbers are Moslems, and without doubt the most puritanical of Moslems today, a fact of which they are proud, feeling that to them it is given to preserve the purity of the creed and the virile virtues of tradition. Yet they have freely amended the faith to suit their own race and their own ideals, and they have incorporated into "the law" many of their *kanouns* of pre-Islamic days; some of these *kanouns* are in direct contradiction to the Koran, but they overlook this fact with equanimity. While they hold pork in abhorrence, one of their greatest delicacies is the meat of the wild boar, and they eat it whenever possible. The stringent fast of Ramadan is seldom observed by the Berbers who are also remiss in the matter of ritualistic ablutions before prayers, as prescribed

by Mahomed for all believers. Exceedingly conservative and attached to tradition they verge on idolatry in the worship of their saints, men and women, and the *marabouts* or holy men are held in greatest renown among them.

PREHISTORIC REMAINS

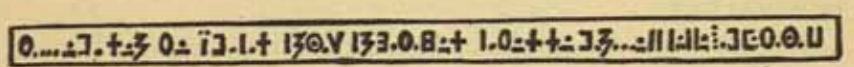
PLATE 9

The *kubba* of Sidi Yakub in the sacred grove of Blida. This tomb, endowed with miraculous powers, is believed by Moslems to have been erected supernaturally by *jinns* during the night following the death of Sidi Yakub



IV

PREHISTORIC REMAINS



NORTH AFRICA abounds in traces of prehistoric man, going back to the most remote ages.

Caverns, natural and artificially excavated, exist in different parts of the country; the artificial ones are dug into the topmost part of high cliffs and are practically inaccessible. Some of them show evidences of having been used as sepulchres.

In southern Morocco and southern Algeria rock engravings are found, reminiscent of those of Altamira, and probably as old. They are considered as pre-Berber since they represent animals and humans, and Berber art is essentially geometric; but in those that seem the more recent, the only ones, by the way, where the camel is represented, *tifinagh* characters often accompany the figures.

Numerous megalithic monuments indicate a kinship with the Iberians and the Celts of Europe. These are generally attributed to the early Berbers, although some historians incline to the belief that they were left by the earlier Libyans.

In this connection, we might mention that, although the paleolithic age of North Africa seems to parallel that of Europe, the neolithic strata show very curious differences. To begin with, the neolithic remains found in the Saharan regions are strangely akin to those of Egypt, which confirms the long held supposition that the two countries were in constant and intimate relations at a very

early period. This in turn indicates that the desert area has extended, since these relations would have been impossible had the Libyan desert been the formidable barrier it is today.

But while even so close a neighbor as the Spanish peninsula exhibits a rich and varied ſtore of neolithic pieces, the northern part of Africa is ſtrangely deficient in such remains, and those that have been unearthed seem to indicate a lesser skill unless it shows rather a decadence, in spite of the proven fact that polished ſtone implements and weapons were in use there even during hiſtorical times.

We know that the metals, bronze, iron and copper were known on the Barbary coaſt very much earlier than on the northern shores of the Mediterranean. Although their adoption muſt have been slow, yet this may explain the comparative paucity in remains of the neolithic age in north Africa.

The old Barbary country is rich in menhirs, dolmens, cromlechs, tumuli, and in prehiſtoric walls usually found at the top of hills and in other places difficult of access where, no doubt for protection, dwellings were built. There are walls of ancient rectangular houses and outer protective walls; there are also what appear to be remains of ancient ſtorage vaults.

These walls were always built of two parallel rows of slabs ſtuck edgeway in the ground, from two to three feet apart, the space between was filled with rubble, and the whole was crowned with ſtones laid without mortar. Some of these walls measure several miles in perimeter. In certain cases they have disintegrated, the top crumbling, and the rocky filling being washed away, but the outer rows of slabs ſtill ſtand. In the neighborhood of such remains, ſtone and metal objects are found, and in some cases fragments of pottery, but there is a total absence of mortar or bricks.

SEPULCHRES

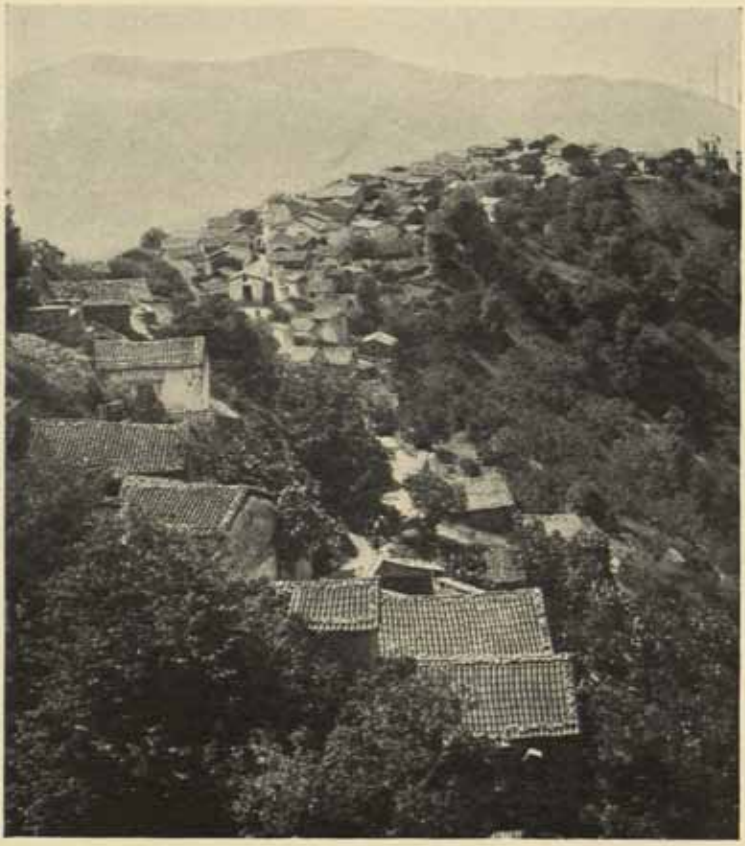
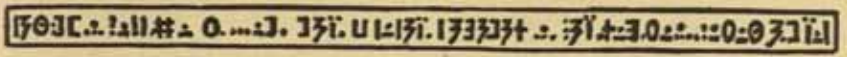


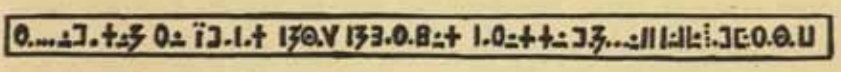
PLATE 10

Taourirt-Amokrane, Grande Kabylie



V

SEPULCHRES



THAT the early Berbers, perhaps even their predecessors had a loving reverence for their dead, we know by the care they took in burying them. Often the sepulchres are all that remain of various periods. Everywhere in North Africa, and well into the Sahara, tumuli abound, and the fields of dolmens already found compare well with those of Europe, while it is probable that others exiſt, ſtill unknown. Near Roknia, in Algeria, a group of over 1,500 dolmens mark the reſting place of men who perhaps fell in battle. Besides the bodies various objects were placed to help and comfort the departing soul in the netherworld: ſtone weapons, jadite axes, necklaces of polished ſtones, bracelets of bronze and even small ornaments of gold. Few tombs have been opened there. This field is generally accredited to the Third or Fourth century B. C.

The menhirs, sometimes as high as thirty feet, ſtand regularly aligned in the direction of the rising and setting sun and of the equinoxes, or in circles forming cromlechs. And their kinship is so evident to that of the megalithic monuments of Brittany, Scotland, Ireland, Persia and Transylvania as to make us wonder what manner of men left these gigantic traces of their passage on this earth.

Some tumuli are only circular piles of rocks, or rocks and earth, covering the body which is generally laid with the knees drawn up, the head againſt them in the ritualiſtic position. At times, under

the tumulus, a cavity has been dug to receive the remains; this is especially common in the Sahara. The base of the pile is sometimes outlined in flat ſtones symmetrically laid; there may be a row of ſtanding ſtones at the base or again at the top.

Later came the *djidar,* some of which are taken to date as late as the Fifth to the Seventh centuries A. D. They are in the shape of ſtepped square pyramids, sometimes in groups on heights, and they measure up to one hundred and fifty feet at the base; they seem to have risen to about one hundred feet in height. In these *djidar* the funeral chambers and the passageways leading to them form a very complicated plan. The entrance always faces the eaſt, and to reach it one muſt climb to a platform half way up the edifice.

There are also burial places dug into the rock in cliffs often cut by ſteps. A door gives access to one or several mortuary chambers, in some of which niches are sometimes cut laterally.

The moſt impressive of Berber tombs are the Medrasen situated between Conſtantine and Batna in Algeria, and that called by the Arabs, Kbour-er-Rumia or Roumia, the Chriſtian woman's tomb, near Tipaza, weſt of Algiers. The Medrasen, believed to be the reſting place of some Numidian prince and to date from before Chriſt, is a circular pyramid measuring about one hundred and eighty feet in diameter at the base, built of quarried ſtone. The lower part is cylindrical and it is topped by a truncated cone, now partly crumbled, made by arranging the ſtones in ſteps. Around the cylindrical part it carried a row of columns of the Doric type, surmounted by a cornice now almoſt completely deſtroyed. A narrow opening led through a long, tortuous hallway to a central chamber generally believed to be the funeral room, which was found empty.

The Chriſtian woman's tomb (Plate 8) resembles the Medrasen in general outline, method of conſtruction, and also because it ſtands on a height overlooking two valleys in a site of incomparable beauty. This laſt fact adds a passionate poignancy to the riddle of this myſterious paſt. There is no doubt that these ancient Berbers

PLATE 11

A group of *noualas,* in western Algeria

were keenly aware of beauty in nature, for they unerringly chose the moſt beautiful, the moſt romantic locations to lay their dead at reſt.

Larger than the Medrasen, the Chriſtian woman's tomb, measures fully two hundred and eight feet in diameter and it is built on a raised, square ſtone platform, it is considerably higher also, rising to well over one hundred feet. Formerly sixty engaged columns outlined its lower cylindrical part; in a very bad ſtate a few years ago, it is being repaired and ſtrengthened againſt further decay. Four false doors ſtand on the four sides; the ornament on these doors is in the general outline of a cross, and it is probably from this fact that the Arabs believed it to be the mausoleum of a Chriſtian woman.

While innumerable legends are connected with it, it now seems pretty well eſtablished that it was built by Juba II, king of Mauretania during the second decade of the Chriſtian era, probably for himself and for his wife Cleopatra Selene, daughter of the great Cleopatra and Anthony.

Tortuous passages ſtarting from a concealed opening lead to two sepulchral chambers situated in the very center of the monument. As with the Medrasen these chambers were empty when entered by archaeologiſts in 1866, only insignificant objects of little value hiſtorically or otherwise were encountered in the runways. Were the tombs plundered by robbers? Were the bodies taken by ancient magicians for use in their necromantic rites? Probably. Unless by a remote chance, they were placed in some myſterious recess not yet found, where they reſt in peace guarded by the anonymity of the ſtone.

Older than the Chriſtian woman's tomb, since it probably dates from the Second century B. C. a Libyco-Punic tomb near Dougga in Tunisia, exhibits more elaborateness and shows Egyptian and Asiatic influences as well as what may have been Phenician art; for the deſtruction of Carthage and other Punic cities was thorough and ruthless enough to fulfill to the utmoſt the obsessive wish

of Cato. *Delenda eſt Cartago* is literally true. Of the ports, the citadel, the temples, the public marts, the city walls, the private homes, princely mansions or lowly *gourbis*, nothing was left, and we muſt rely on descriptions of the time to form an idea of the great Carthage. Of late years discoveries have brought to light in Punic necropolises urns and small objects, but anything else will probably always remain unknown.

This Libyco-Punic monument, the tomb of some Phenician personage, unless it is that of a Berber prince from some tribe who had come under the sway of the neighboring Punic civilization, comprises a square base of six ſteps on which reſts a quadrangular body of masonry, finished at the angles with Ionic pilaſters. Three ſteps above this uphold a cubic pile adorned with eight engaged columns of Ionic ſtyle, while at the angles there are traces of other columns.

The cornice, of Phenician design, was surmounted by three ſteps carrying at the corners equeſtrian ſtatues. Another block of masonry rose ſtill higher bearing on its upper corners ſtatues of winged women, and on top of all there was a pyramidal conſtruction.

. . . . . .

Like many other people, the Tuaregs look upon the paſt as the "good old days." They believe that their anceſtors were giants, and the tales they tell about them conform in general to the gigantism phase of folk lore which is also encountered among other Berbers, especially the Kabyles.

They place near Abelessa, that is approximately eighty kilometers southeaſt of Tamanrasset, the tomb of Tin Hinan, their legendary queen, whom they call the "Mother of all the Tuaregs."

During the winter of 1925 a searching party led by Byron de Prorok found this tomb and ascertained that it muſt have been built somewhat in the manner of the Medrasen and the Chriſtian Woman's tomb; but that it had suffered enormously from climatic conditions in the Sahara, the ſtones being eroded by wind and

PLATE 12 *Courtesy of Gt. Gl. de l'Algérie*

A nomad's tent, showing the use of the *flidj*

weather, the roof caving in. Around the central tomb were smaller monuments very probably containing the remains of the noblemen who formed the court of the queen, thus adding an unexpected substantiation to the flimsy legend in which Pierre Benoit found the subject matter of his *Atlantida.*

Lying under a leather shroud which dissolved when touched, the queen was found. The story of her great size was disproved as well as that of the hoary date of her existence, gold coins with the effigy of Constantine found in the tomb showing that she could not have been buried before the Fourth century A. D. Jewelry of gold and silver of a Punic type, cornelian and turquoise beads, amulet beads painted to look like eyes, were found also, and garments of leather and of cotton in the Tuareg fashion. The carved wooden couch on which the body lay was crumbling, but some designs on it were sufficiently clear to show a distinct resemblance to the ornaments which the Tuaregs use even now to decorate their scabbards.

An interesting and puzzling object was the small statuette of the so-called Libyan Venus, very archaic, sometimes, in fact, associated with the Aurignacian period; it may have symbolized the power of the matriarch in whose sepulchre it was found.

The hurried expedition did not take time to make further searches which are needed to elucidate many matters concerning this monument and to clarify the large body of legends concerning Tin Hinan which are afloat all over the Sahara.

There is something decidedly incomprehensible in the fact that Prorok made statements in his *Mysterious Sahara* which conflict directly with those he had made in his previous book *Digging for Lost African Gods,* such as changing the date of discovery from 1925 to 1927, stating first that there were sixteen, later twelve tombs surrounding the main one, etc. So the author gives this account for all it is worth.

No doubt, the Sahara holds many secrets and many forgotten ruins.

. . . . . .

Little buildings called *kubbas* (Plate 9) or *marabouts* are encountered all over North Africa, by the sea shore and in the sand waſtes, atop some inaccessible cliffs and down into Edenic valleys, often in groves that have been held as sacred for untold ages, where they share in the legendary power of the trees.

Built of adobe or ſtone and whitewashed, they are cubic conſtructions surmounted by a dome which is usually round, except in some diſtricts where the available materials lack adhesive conſtituents and it becomes necessary to ſtretch the dome into a nearly conical cap. The four sides may be open arches; they may have one opening or none; they are rarely decorated.

While the *kubba* is reminiscent on a miniature scale of the tombs of Moslem potentates in Asia, it is a diſtinct North African feature; it has the simple, direct, auſtere qualities of things Berber, with a flavor of romanticism thrown in for it is almoſt invariably erected where its graceful white shape adds an unexpected and delightful piquancy to the landscape.

It is the reſting place of some local saint, often an humble personage, but it is certain to be inveſted with miraculous powers and to draw eager pilgrims who come to beg favors of all kinds and all hues, the birth of a son, the death of an enemy, the cure of a disease, the love of a suitor or a mate, a good crop, etc. Sometimes the fame of the saint and his tomb assume such proportions that a whole *zaouia* grows around the *kubba,* with mosque, *sahns,* and lodgings for caretakers and for visitors.

For the God of Mahomed is exceedingly remote, and the Berbers who dislike abſtractions and who are by nature fetiſhiſts, like the mass of uneducated Arabs, have fashioned for themselves more tangible, more underſtandable objects of worship. Their love of pilgrimages is a revelation; it springs perhaps from an ataviſtic craving for the old nomadic life and from the overpowering need of varying the monotonous routine of their life.

DWELLINGS

PLATE 13 *Courtesy of Gt. Gl. de l'Algérie*

Beni-Isguen, the holy city of the M'zab; the ramparts

VI

DWELLINGS

OUR first contact with the Berbers was in the mountains of the Djurdjura in Algeria, where live the Kabyles. In this densely populated region, villages are everywhere, hanging like swallows-nests on the hill tops, of old for protection, now in order to keep for farming every possible parcel of land that has an inch of soil.

They are picturesque, these Kabyle villages (Plates 1 and 10); they blend so well with the landscape of which they are a part as to be little noticeable from a distance. Climbing the steep slope the houses look as if built on top of one another; around the village is a formidable rampart of prickly pear, which, imported from America, has adapted itself unusually well here and grows to a gigantic size; its African name is Barbary figs, the fruit is greatly relished by the natives, and its thorns are most effective.

The houses are constructed on the same plan in Kabylie as in the Aurès mountains, except that in Kabylie where snow falls abundantly, the roofs are more slanting. Paradoxically, however, in the High Atlas of southern Morocco where the winters are nearly as severe as in Kabylie the terraced house is generally used in spite of its inadequacy.

Each house consists of one room, usually with a little walled fore-court. A partition that reaches half way up to the ceiling divides the house into two compartments, one of which has a sunken floor and is assigned to the domestic animals. Above this stable and

opening into the family room is a loft or ſtorage place; in certain diſtricts this is used as a sleeping place in winter to gain some warmth from the animals below, as the houses are entirely unheated. Both animals and human occupants have to use the same door.

One can imagine that under such conditions the odor of a Kabyle house is too richly pungent for European or American taſtes; the natives are inured to it from long experience. But he who would explore in this land needs a hardy nose and he had beſt provide himself also with patience and with quantities of inſect powder. The French scientiſt, Van Gennep, who has hunted hard and long among the Kabyles for their potteries, gives an amusing account of his troubles, and advances the intereſting hypothesis that the notorious irascibility of the Kabyles may be due, at leaſt partly, to the fact that night and day they are the prey of swarms of fleas, and are thus always kept in a ſtate of irritation, never knowing sound, refreshing sleep.

The houses are built of ſtones roughly joined together, or of adobe; the roofs are of home made tiles originally red, but soon mellowed by time and weather. In Kabylie the roofs are weighed down with rocks, quite a necessity in this country of furious winds. In the Southern Aurès the roofs are sometimes made of reed and thatch. The floors are beaten earth.

Where the winters are less severe and in the towns, the terraced house prevails; the court behind the living room provides some sort of shade for the hot summer days by means of a covered gallery supported by wooden pillars; this court becomes the center of family life, and during moſt of the year the women perform there their domeſtic tasks. The roof of the house is a terrace where the house dwellers seek coolness after sunset, and where they sleep during the warm season. The ſtable opens on the court, and there is sometimes a special room for the women at the rear. Where living conditions make it possible or the wealth of the owner warrants it, the two ſtory house appears, the lower floor being used

PLATE 14 *Courtesy of Gt. Gl. de l'Algérie*

A Berber chest illustrating the technique of Berber carving. This is a modern piece made by the Beni Oughlis (Bougie)

as ſtables and ſtores, the upper one for living quarters. There is usually a basement where are kept some provisions as well as ſtraw and feed for the ubiquitous goat and donkey.

In Southern Tunisia the Matmatas inhabit underground houses the rooms of which open on a court dug like a deep well into the ground. These rooms, or rather cells since their size is limited, extend under the earth at different levels. They are ſtrangely vaulted in a manner that makes them resemble boats turned upside down, a peculiar feature already noted by Herodotus. A tunneled passage leads to the entrance near which are the ſtables also underground. This method of conſtruction was no doubt devised as a protection againſt the heat and goes back to very early days; evidence has been found of its use in Bulla-Reggia and some other cities of the Roman period.

In Southern Tunisia also are found troglodytes, Berbers who live in caves hewn out of inaccessible mountain heights. Sometimes an outside room or court is built in front of the cave. Above the village exiſts a ſtronghold from which a handful of men can, with unerringly thrown ſtones lay low any intruders. The poor, hunted creatures who, centuries ago, took to these forbidding dwellings to escape the slave traffickers are as wild as the wild and appalling country they inhabit; they cannot be made to realize that peace and security have at laſt come to them. Troglodytes are also found in the Moroccan Atlas and in the Beni-Snous diſtrict of weſtern Algeria.

From time immemorial and as a protection in case of war and drought, the Berbers have kept the larger amount of their goods in communal ſtores, ſtrategically placed and fortified, under the surveillance of a few permanent guardians. There they bring in the fall after the harveſt their dates, their wool, their oil, their grain, their smoked and dried meats.

In South Tunisia these ſtores, or *ghorfas,* are made of a series of vaulted masonry chambers like elongated casks, aligned and superimposed on several ſtories, generally arranged around a square

upon which opens the unique door of each compartment, thus presenting a solid wall on the outside. There are no windows whatever and few ſtairs, those in exiſtence ſtop in space so that access to the upper chambers is a risky proposition rendered possible only by some protruding ſtones or beams; further to handicap robbers and intruders the doors are only a little over three feet in height. Although the *ghorfas* are community undertakings each family has its own ſtorage chamber of which it has the only key; this key is of wood and so large as to make the loss of it a remote possibility.

In the craggy Aurès the *guelaa* (Plate 3) or ſtore is built on the edge of some precipitous cliff above the village, making it virtually impregnable even with a reduced force of defenders.

Of the same type is the *ighem* of the High Atlas, but it is built like the *tighemt* or fortified mountain house, square and flanked at its four corners by *bordjs* or square baſtions; the only outer openings are narrow loopholes. A single entrance leads to a central court upon which open the rooms and the ſtores situated within the *bordjs*. A narrow ſtair is built into a corner and gives access to the upper rooms and to the crenelated parapet; the caravanseries and *fondouks* or native inns are also conſtructed and protected in the same manner. *Tighemts* and *ighems* are always located in ſtrategical positions commanding the surrounding country.

The ultimate development of primitive Berber architecture is the *ksar* or *dar* or *agadir* of the lords of the Atlas. Like the caſtles of medieval Europe and the *kasbahs* of Spain and of Ifrikiya it is built on an eminence, protected by a drawbridge and battlemented walls and towers. Inside are found the maſter's living quarters, dependencies and servant rooms, ſtables, courts, gardens, large ſtore rooms, work shops, arsenals, ciſterns, prisons, sometimes even a small mosque and the family tombs. The *ksars* of some powerful *caïds* are on a surprisingly large scale, veritable labyrinths of rooms, halls and terraces.

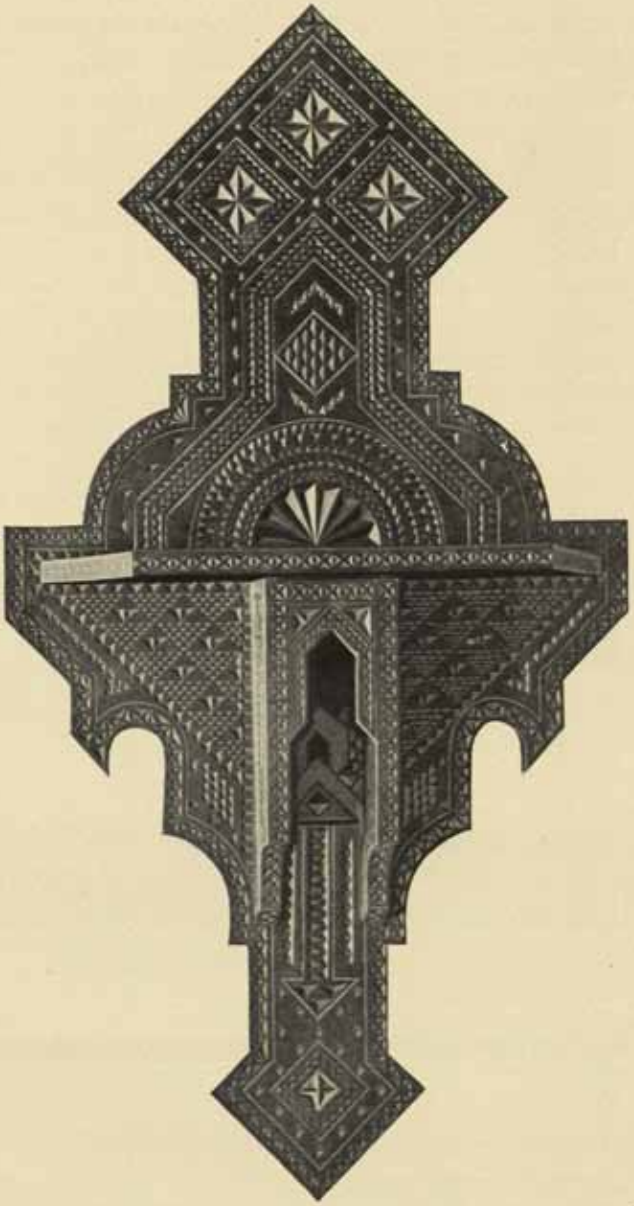


PLATE 15

Courtesy of Gt. Gl. de l'Algérie

Shelf. Also a modern piece of carving in the traditional Berber manner

In the *ksars* and in some *tighemts* the ochre colored walls made of adobe or of ſtone plaſtered with mud are white-washed in the upper parts and show ſtrange, bold designs composed of lines, triangles, dots, etc., reminiscent of the patterns of rugs woven in the surrounding diſtrict.

Silhouetted againſt the dramatic mountains whose chasms are filled with a purplish haze, under a sky of limpid azure, these frowning eagle neſts loom in majeſtic and auſtere grandeur. The rising and the sinking sun heighten their color to the tint of blood. When winter snows cover the creſts and the passes they seem to brood ſiniſter; they come to life like some fantaſtic oriental dream when for a feaſt or for some tribal *diffa* innumerable candles put pinpricks of light in their confused gloom and the great court resounds with the flutes and the drums and the swishing sound of sandaled dancing feet around a blazing fire.

They symbolise the fierce and proud people who love their forbidding mountains, the mountains that have always been breeders of hardy and daring men who have periodically gone down into the plains to conquer.

Next in their ardent spirit of independence and in their pride of pure Berber blood to these Chleus, these Glaouas, these Goundafas, are the Riffs, often named the Kabyles of Morocco who claim that they have never given allegiance to any foe. And, like the Riff country, the Middle and High Atlas are ſtill imperfectly known, only a few Europeans having penetrated them in spots, and they are highly unsafe.

The average Berber house is an humble dwelling, as a rule entirely unadorned, no doubt following anceſtral plans and methods of building: ſtone where ſtone is available, adobe where the soil furniſhes this material, a fragile gypsum in some desert diſtricts; and, where the scarcity of wood makes it necessary, various ingenious forms of the cupola and dome have been evolved, the conſtruction of which is possible with only a few, short, inferior pieces of timber. The semi-nomads erect little, round huts thatched

with straw or with palm leaves called *nouala* (Plate 11) in Morocco, *gourbi* on the Plateaux, where they live during the winter only, deserting them in summer for the tent.

The Tuaregs of the Ahaggar live in dwellings of the most primitive type; when they are on the move, which is most of the time, their only shelter is the traditional tent of leather of extremely small dimensions. The M'zabites are reputed to be the best builders in North Africa; in their stony, hot *shebka* rich in *timchent,* a natural lime of excellent quality, they erect two story terraced houses with wide galleries where one finds welcome surcease from the pitiless rays of the sun. The type of arcades of the M'zabite houses can hardly be called Berber, it belongs to that primitive type of Saharan architecture which is the direct outgrowth of local conditions. Instead of the usual haphazard cluster of dwellings that characterizes the ordinary Berber village, the M'zabites build their towns with the mosque at the center and, if at all possible, on higher ground. From the mosque various streets radiate like the spokes of a wheel, and high walls form the outer ramparts; the mosques and minarets are often white-washed and stand dazzling white in contrast to the drab color of the other houses. The minarets are very interesting and impressive in their severe architecture; they are usually square towers tapering to the top in pyramid fashion, due to the fact that the walls must be very thick at the base in order to support these high mud structures (Plate 13). In many Berber villages there is no minaret and the mosque is only a house larger than the rest; the fountain for ablutions is practically non-existent in the mountain districts for water is often a long distance from the village; besides many Berbers choose to ignore the orders of the Prophet on ritualistic cleansing before prayers.

Perhaps it would be well to emphasize the fact that, whether they live in tents, huts or sedentary houses, the Berbers always live in groups. Except for the wealthy man's estate occasionally found in the neighborhood of cities, the individual, isolated farm

PLATE 16 *Courtesy of Gt. Gl. de l'Algérie*

Copper utensils: ewer, bath pail, *kouskous* dishes, and containers for fruit and cakes

home could not exiſt in times paſt for lack of security; the habit once formed persiſts.

In the cities and on large country eſtates we find a type of house which might be called the Maghrebin house; it differs both from the oriental house and from the ancient Roman dwelling particularly in the fact that the rooms which open on the inner courts are very wide, but very short. The technique of wall conſtruction adheres persiſtently to the Berber method; use of adobe in connection with bricks, or rough ſtones joined with mortar and alternating with rows of flat slabs, often reinforced by ſticks and branches which are notched in order to hold better. Of course various features, ceramic tiles, carved ſtucco, ſtalactites, etc., can be traced to foreign origins; however, they reached a new development in Africa and there took on an individual character. The ſtudy of the manner in which the Berber race adopted and adapted these features might throw new light on the character of that race, and would prove an intereſting if difficult subject.

There is little in exiſtence of purely Berber architecture of the paſt. When Rome set her mighty ſtamp on the country she put a veneer of Latinity on the upper classes of the Berbers; as is the case today, the lower classes for lack of means could express themſelves only in their minor crafts and arts. What has endured is only Roman and Islamic building, and much of the earlier Islamic building made use of Roman and Byzantine elements such as columns, capitals, door lintels, doors, etc., taken from exiſting monuments. The oriental house, even when it is elaborate, is poorly conſtructed at beſt, whether from natural ſhiftlessness or from a deeply ingrained sense of the inſtability of all things human, and it does not endure long in the climate of Africa; nor can we forget the deſtructive upheavals through which this Moslem land passed.

While the magnificent monuments of Islamic Spain are usually, and correctly, classified under the general label of Moslem architecture, they possess special characteriſtics which seem to be due to

the Berber element and which link them closely with the architecture of Morocco and even the reſt of North Africa.

For although, following the firſt Berber invasions of Spain under Tarik and Moussa-ben-Noçaïr, the Saracens came to rule in the peninsula bringing with them a purely Asiatic influence, by the end of the Ninth century the Berbers were again in possession of Andalusia and of all the Maghreb as far eaſt as Algiers; for the next four centuries the two countries were in the moſt intimate relations, politically and economically; they seem to have reacted each upon the other in turn.

Coming from the High Atlas the Berbers founded the dynaſties of the Almoravides, the Almohades, and later the Merinides. The days of their rule were brilliant if ſtormy and they erected such monuments as the mosque of Seville, the minaret of which is the famous Giralda reſtored not too wisely, but square and purely Maghrebin in ſtyle, the great mosque of Marrakesh also partly deſtroyed but of which the minaret, the Kutubiya remains, superb in its auſtere elegance. The tower of Hassan in Rabat, believed rightly or wrongly to have been built by the architect of the Kutubiya and of the Giralda is also extremely beautiful, while the Alhambra of Granada remains, in spite of reſtorations and alterations, the moſt remarkable monument of Hispano-Moorish art of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth centuries.

It is in the Maghreb however, that we find the ultimate development of sophiſticated Berber art, influenced by Andalusia, in Tlemcen with its magnificent great mosque, the Djema-el-Kebir, in the mosque of Abu-Hassan, the *mihrab* of which is considered by learned Orientals as the fineſt example of Moslem art in the world, in the mosque of Sidi-el-Haloui with its exquisite minaret resplendent in ceramic tiles, in the remains of the old Meshouar (palace and citadel) and in many other monuments of the once great Tlemcen. Mansurah of the Black Sultan, the neighbor and rival of Tlemcen, is now only a moss and nettle covered ruin, shunned by the superſtitious Moslems; but the morning and the

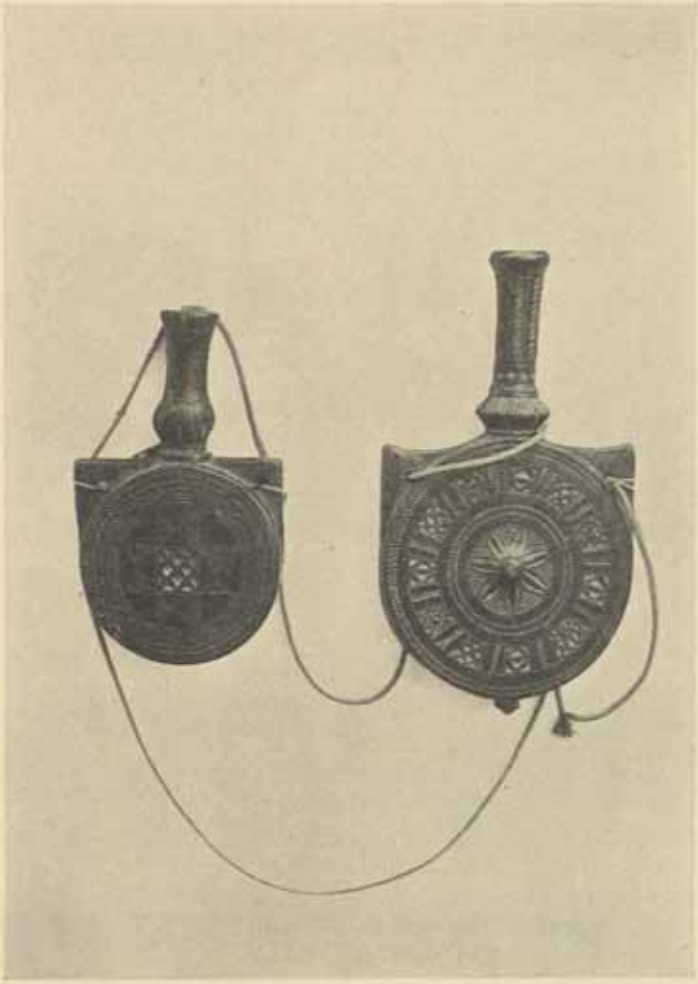


PLATE 17 *Courtesy of Gt. Gl. de l'Algérie*

Carved powder boxes from the Aurès

evening sun gild the crumbling towers and ramparts of the ghoſt city, and as long as part of its beautiful minaret ſtands the glory of Mansurah is secure. We should not forget that almoſt unknown gem, the little building which contains the tombs of the Saadian Princes in Marrakesh. This dynaſtic Pantheon neſtles in the weeds between an old mosque and the decaying ruins of the palace of El Badi. From the outside it presents only drab walls and roofs of faded green tile. What a revelation inside and how inadequate words are to describe the fragile beauty of these funeral chambers comparable to the beſt the Weſtern World produced!

Beautiful slender columns of white marble support arches of exquisite proportions. The high vaulted ceiling is made of cedar delicately carved and touched with colors and with gold, now mellowed to perfect ripeness. The walls are covered with ſtucco also carved to the delicacy of lace, with a richness and exuberance that would seem over decorated were it not for a paradoxical sense of subtle harmony and of sobriety in lavishness. The lower part of the walls and the floor are covered with *zellijs* of harmonious hues.

The tombs are of ivory colored marble and ceramic tiles. Some, carved and grooved, look like boats turned upside down in some sheltered cove, others are topped by a *m'kabria* or marble slab bearing arabesque inscriptions. These *m'kabrias* are long and narrow, as if under them they muſt lie very ſtraight and ſtill the tall Moslem knights who reſt here; around them are small tombs down to the size of a new-born babe. They who are buried there were nearly all murdered, children as well as men, but they sleep quietly now, forgotten and undiſturbed in their gem-like mauſoleum over which daylight, subdued by the gratings of carved marble which form the windows, puts a benediction of peace.

Morocco is full of beautiful buildings, many neglected and half decayed. To name only a few one muſt mention the mosque of Moulay-Idriss in Fez, ſtill rigorously closed to non-believers and adjoining the University of Karawiyn, the great center of Islamic

learning next to El-Azhar in Cairo, the Medersa of Bou-Anania also in Fez, the Kasbah of the Oudaia in Rabat, the Nejjarin fountain of Fez, the Bab-el-Mansur in Meknes, etc., etc.

For some monuments of the past we happily have detailed descriptions left by historians which show that, both on the Spanish peninsula and in North Africa, the Moslem princes exhibited an exquisite taste and a love of richness and beauty surpassed only perhaps by that of the Mogul potentates of India.

Little has been done as yet in the way of digging into ancient Berber centers where perchance some things of vital import and interest may still lie buried. (Who knows, for instance, whether a few of the manuscripts of the famous library of Carthage may not have survived time and disasters and may not some day come to light in the mountain district surrounding Cirta—modern Constantine—where they were taken when the Punic city fell to the Romans?)

Of the Kalaa of the Beni-Hammad there remains now little above ground beyond a minaret, the upper part of which has been destroyed, but which is still beautiful in its severe and uncompromising square maghrebin mass and the balanced proportions of its arches and openings.

The Ksar-el-Manar (the donjon of the beacon) still shows the lower part of a central cruciform room and a slanting passageway which, taking the place of stairs, ran all around this room, leading to the terraced roof.

The Dar-el-Bahr (the house of the sea or lake) was famous for its size and its beauty. Its ruins measure approximately five hundred and twenty-five feet by two hundred and ten feet. Its huge main court was practically filled by a rectangular pool sufficiently large and deep for boat races and water games. To this it owed its name.

It is indeed a pity that so little remains of this palace. Still, to quote G. Marçais, "Algeria possesses in the Dar-el-Bahr of the

PLATE 18 *Courtesy of Gt. Gl. de l'Algérie*

Berber pottery from Dra-el-Mizan, (Grande Kabylie). The first and the third are bridal lamps

Qal'a and its annexes one of the few complete plans of musulman palaces, one of the most accurately dated, and one of the least tampered with."

Sedrata, a prosperous center in the Tenth century, second capital of the Ibadites, was ruthlessly torn down in 1077 by El Mansur ben-Nasser the Hammadite of the Kalaa of the Beni-Hammad. An interesting mosque has been discovered there, and a palace which is particularly remarkable because of the purely geometrical Berber ornament used to decorate the walls of its rooms. This ornament or *noksh-hadida* is generally believed to be the oldest specimen known of this type of decoration: the plaster carving which became one of the characteristic features of the art of Maghreb. At Sedrata, however, this *noksh-hadida* is not made of plaster but of a tufa with which the adobe walls were covered. Before this tufa had completely dried and hardened it was carved with chisels. Today this method is still in use in Africa to carve plaster which is made slow drying with salt. And in Kabylie and in the Riff country wood carvings are made using the same designs and a somewhat similar technique.

Tinmal, the dead "white city" of the Berbers, the cradle of the Almohade dynasty, lies in a narrow and forbidding valley of the High Atlas. Today it consists only of some fallen ramparts, a cemetery on a rocky mountain side and a roofless mosque still majestic in its severe beauty. The *mihrab* is fairly well preserved; it shows a remarkable sense of proportions and a discreet restraint in the use of decorative ornament of a geometric character, full of strength tempered with grace.

This mosque was unique in the simplicity of its symmetrical rectangular plan and also from the fact that its minaret was built directly on the axis of the edifice.

There are found all the elements which were to develop and expand in the Maghreb and in Andalusia on contact with other arts and other races. There one senses that leaning of the Berbers to austerity and puritanism which is so paradoxically combined

in them with an oriental love of sensuous harmony. There are the broad lines, the vigorous and bold plan, the innate sense of excellent and harmonious proportions. There are the parallel naves, the square minaret, the geometrical ornament, the delicate fanciful carving, that we find in the typical Maghrebin mosques.

Even in the poorer Berber homes there is an attempt at decoration in some columns and their primitive capitals. This takes the form of linear carvings or incisions, sometimes painted in red and brown, occasionally also in white, yellow and blue. The nomads often decorate in a similar manner their main tent posts.

The severe utilitarianism which characterizes the exterior of the average Berber house, characterizes also the interior and the furnishings, although in some districts the women adorn the plastered walls on the inside with rude frescoes in relief or painted, of which the line and its simpler combinations are the *leitmotiv*. And where the blocks of adobe are joined on the outside a coating of mud is often applied in which interesting designs are traced. As the social scale rises, we find increasingly rich elaboration in the decoration of the walls: plaster ornaments, ceramic tiles, etc. are used.

Masonry benches built along some of the walls serve as seats and also to hold the *akoufis*, immense jars used to store oil, figs, grain, etc. In the majority of homes the bed is only a wider bench; and the hearth, where it is not built in the court, consists of a sunken cavity in the earthen floor where three stones wait to receive the cooking utensil. There is no chimney, the only provision made for smoke is in one or two small openings in a wall, just below the eaves.

The doors are always interesting. Especially in Morocco where timber is more abundant, many houses and mosques possess beautiful ones, often massive, carved, and studded with nails fashioned by hand of brass and iron. Some doors covered with bronze placques either lightly incised with arabesques or chiselled and hammered, are, by tradition, due to the Andalusian artisans

PLATE 19 *Courtesy of Gt. Gl. de l'Algérie*

Kouskous dish and sauce bowl for the spicy sauce which usually accompanies the *kouskous*

who went to Africa when the Reconquiſta expelled them from Spain. The lintels are also beautifully decorated in linear designs. The vaſt majority of doors as well as other wooden pieces of large size, are cleverly fashioned of very small panels fitted together to form intricate and beautiful designs. The basis of this form of decoration however, is, a purely utilitarian one; in this African climate which is apt to go to extremes, large pieces of wood submitted in turn to excessive shrinking and swelling soon warp and fall apart; the method in use tends to overcome this difficulty.

The ceiling beams in all the better houses and in the mosques, *medersas,* and *zaouias* are treated with skill and with eſthetic underſtanding; again Morocco possesses the fineſt examples. From the viewpoint of conſtruction these ceiling works show that, inſtead of the solid and hardly decorated beams which seem to have been in general use in antiquity, there has been since the Fourteenth century a tendency to reduce the size of the pieces and to increase their number in order to secure a more delicate and more elaborate ornamentation.

Screens fashioned in lattice work of small panels and thin, narrow pieces of wood more or less elaborately carved and painted, are found in some mosques where they form a *maksura* or private praying place for sultans and sheiks, in the *medersas* or Moslem universities where they separate the ſtudents' quarters from the central court. They are also used as *musharabiahs* at the windows, and at the upper gallery of the patios of homes to insure the women privacy; and in some shops they ſtand between the merchant and the buyer.

The Berbers use practically no furniture; this is not merely because of primitiveness, for the Arab house, even when it is wealthy, is also singularly lacking in this reſpect; and Moslem cabinet work seems puerile compared to that of other races. It is no doubt due to the extreme scarcity of wood. In the better homes rugs and divans take the place of chairs and beds.

A cheſt (Plate 14), often mounted on feet or faſtened to the wall, and intereſtingly carved is the pride of a Berber household

lucky enough to own it. There again the decoration is purely linear, triangles, diamonds, ſtraight lines in parallel groups and in intricate combinations, occasionally circles, are lightly incised in wood, sometimes painted; or the decoration is cut in thin sheets applied on the solid surface. Brass nails are used to complete or accent the design. These cheſts are always intereſting; some of the older ones are subſtantial and truly beautiful; originally they were used to ſtore arms, now they are reserved for the jewels and the ceremonial coſtumes.

Cradles are found decorated in a similar manner; some are made to ſtand, some to hang from a ceiling beam; but on account of the scarcity of wood moſt of them conſiſt only of wooden hoops over which a cloth is ſtretched.

Rarely is a table encountered in the average Berber household, for a table implies a very high ſtandard of luxury and sophiſtication. But one finds occasionally ſtands in the oriental manner, that is low folding wooden supports holding brass trays. Both the holders and the trays may be very elaborate. These and the *koursis* or Koran holders used in moſt mosques often show outside influences. They are usually carved and inlaid with mother of pearl, bone or contraſting woods.

Of wood also and marked by a genuine artiſtic feeling are the quaint locks and small objects such as long handled spoons for ſtirring the *kouskous,* walking ſticks, candle holders, dishes, wooden shoes, etc. And it is evident to any one that the Berbers are a fighting race on seeing how lovingly they decorate their gun ſtocks, dagger handles and holders and powder horns; these are not only carved and painted, they are usually inlaid with silver, ivory, etc. The moſt ſtriking characteriſtic of Berber carving is the fact that it is relief carving with the relief very slight; sculpture in the round, with the single exception of crude ſtatuettes made by some men of the Beni M'tir tribe, does not seem to have exiſted.(Plates 15 and 17).

PLATE 20 *Courtesy of Gt. Gl. de l'Algérie*

Two forms of the *thibuk'alin*, from Taourirt Amokrane

The Berbers have long had the reputation of being good metal workers. They fashion numerous tools and inſtruments of a purely utilitarian type, like plows, knives, vises and screws for olive presses, etc., in iron and in ſteel. They introduce an artiſtic note in their spurs, bits and ſtirrups, in knife and dagger blades, gun and piſtol ſtocks, which they chisel, etch, sometimes inlay with copper and silver. They decorate more or less elaborately door locks, hinges and knockers, and iron bands for doors and for cheſts.

They make nails of many sizes and kinds: some "tallow drop" shaped, some godrooned; they also decorate the metal combs used by weavers. They make buckets and jugs for carrying water and for bathing, also ewers for ablutions, measures for grain, braseros, candelabra, and hanging lamps for mosques. They make trays and covered as well as uncovered dishes of various shapes. These utensils are usually of copper or brass, hammered, chiselled or etched; they are often tinned both inside and outside. (Plate 16).

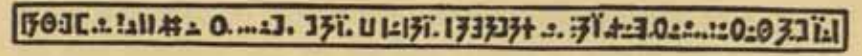
The use of bronze goes back to a very early age in North Africa. Fragments of ancient boxes, locks, harness fittings and other objects come to light once in a while; they invariably show both technical skill and artiſtic feeling.

POTTERY

PLATE 21

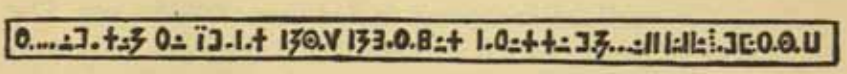
Courtesy of Gt. Gl. de l'Algérie

Other forms of the *thibuk'alin,* from the Beni Douala



VII

POTTERY



THE Berber women excel as pottery makers and textile weavers. At Tizi-Ouzou we happened on a small collection of native pottery, the first we had seen. For although Algiers is only about fifty miles from Kabylie one has to search long before finding any of this ware in the capital. The vases and jugs we saw at Tizi-Ouzou were of a fantastic and unfamiliar design. Did they get their inspiration for that queer urn from a pot-bellied long-necked antediluvian reptile that may have lived in these mountains and failed to respond to Noah's call? Or from that lizard in the ceiling, perhaps? On the other hand we fancied that we saw a Phenician form and ornament, unless it were Copt, but on closer scrutiny we decided that neither was the case.

It is always exciting to experience a new esthetic emotion. This collection intrigued us. Where could we see more? Ah! the bushy-haired waiter is a Kabyle. He is pleased to see us interested.

"Oui, Messudam (Monsieur et Madame) my tribe, the Beni-Aissi make them, and you can see many in the villages of Kouriet and El Adjiba, Taguemount, Dra-el-Mizan, but not so good. These were made by my sister."

So the next morning we are off bright and early to find the sister in the village of Taourirt Amokrane. It is the usual picturesque but unsanitary cluster of small windowless, chimneyless houses

hanging on the waterless hillside, and shared by man and beaſt. Here we find plenty of pottery and we are also initiated into the myſteries of their creation.

The art of the potter has reached such a high development in North Africa not only because the coſt of production is almoſt nothing (like the Pueblo Indians they use local materials) but also because water pitchers are the moſt indispensable utensils of these Berbers. In their arid land the water supply is sometimes an hour's walk from the home, and in some places the available springs are so small that it requires endless time to fill the jars. The importance of pottery in a household that is furnished only with a few rugs to sleep on comes from this need of water. In truth the Berber woman's life centers in the spring and in her water amphora. Carrying water dominates all her other occupations. The ages with their changes have not touched these primitive people. They ſtill use urns and jars and jugs for everything. They use home made pottery for the ſtorage of liquids, oils, figs, honey, grain and meat. They use them as cooking utensils and dishes, as candleſticks, as ornaments and presents. Knowing this one feels less surprised at the devotion with which the women decorate their ware, one underſtands why it has become an object of special pride and parade.

The pottery, not only of the Kabyles, but of all the Berbers, is made like that of the New Mexico Pueblos, without a wheel, and from clay found locally, a clay that is not of particularly good quality, a fact which accounts for the thickness of all their ware. The only tools used by the clever Berber women are their skillful fingers, a little scraper, some round pebbles with which to polish the surface, and some home made brushes with which to apply the decoration.

The preparation of the clay to remove impurities is tedious. It conſiſts of washing the clay and kneading into it finely pulverized pieces of broken pots which serve as binder.

PLATE 22 *Courtesy of Gt. Gl. de l'Algérie*

Water jug and milk jug made by the Beni Aissi near Fort National in Grande Kabylie

When the clay is ready the potter shapes a ball of it in her hand, works it, flattens it and spreads it on an upturned jar which she uses as a working base; this forms the bottom of her new piece. Now, with her right hand she builds the sides using a coil of clay, while her left, inside the pot, shapes it. She is careful to smooth the work as she progresses, with her hands and with her scraper, and she leaves holes for the handles which she has previously shaped and which she will fasten a little later when the clay is less soft.

Drying is always a problem in a variable climate; usually the pots and jugs are taken indoors before complete drying to insure a more even temperature.

When they have acquired a certain consistency and when their surface has been carefully smoothed the decoration is applied. In some districts a layer of fine white clay is spread over the whole vase and smoothed with a round pebble. A clay rich in manganese firing black and a red ochre are the colors used. The red ochre has a soft pleasant tint; it is used in broad fields and bands to outline or encircle the neck and the handles of the piece and to divide the various parts of the design. It is applied with a bit of wool attached to a stick. For the black which forms fine lines and dots the potter manufactures a brush with some goats' hairs fastened to a stick by means of a little clay. Groups of short, parallel lines and dots are sometimes scratched into the red bands with a twig, exposing the original color.

Firing is a primitive affair giving very unreliable results. In an open pit the potteries are arranged, the heavier ones below, the lighter ones above. They are covered with a layer of bark, then with leaves, wood, olive pits and cow dung. The fire is started at the top; when it has slowly burnt down and the ashes have cooled the operation is finished. Although the Berber women develop an uncanny sense of the amount of fuel necessary according to the amount of pottery to be baked, the temperature of the air and the effect of the wind on the speed of combustion, half their potteries are spoiled in the firing: some crack because they are too near the

flames, some not being cooked enough are not water-proof, and the decoration is apt to be marred by bursts of smoke.

While the pottery is still warm enough to melt it, a sort of amber varnish is applied all over to protect the design. This varnish or *tizeft* is made by boiling together the roots of some native bushes with a resin extracted from the juniper and some alum, until a jelly-like substance is obtained.

This method of manufacture, tedious as it is, has remained unchanged for two thousand years at least, just as the tradition of the designs used to decorate the pottery has remained unchanged. The Berbers are a strange people endowed with unbelievable tenacity and conservatism; they simply do not want to change. The patterns are not only traditional, they are hereditary in each village and in each family; the Berber girl of 1931 makes jars and pots as her mother's mothers made them before Christ. And this is meant to be literal.

In Berber tombs situated near Constantine (the Cirta of old) and ascertained to belong to the Second century B. C. broken vases were found, in all respects like those in use today in that district. And the descriptions some ancient writers have made of the pottery in use in Numidia in the Third and Fourth centuries B. C. exactly fit that made at present.

Some Etruscan ware in Italian museums resembles the Berber productions. Art historians have concluded from this that the Berber ware is an imitation or reproduction of Etruscan, Roman, or perhaps Phenician models. It is not impossible that the Berbers have borrowed from the Romans, the Phenicians and the Etruscans, but for all we know it might as well be the converse. In Cappadocia also were found ancient utensils closely resembling in texture, form and decoration the Berber pottery; Egyptian tombs of 4000 B. C. have revealed urns and vases of a related type, while the development of pottery making in Cyprus as shown by archaeological discoveries seems to link it with that of the Berber ware. Therefore the riddle is still unsolved.

PLATE 23 *Courtesy of Gt. Gl. de l'Algérie*

Water jug from the tribe of the Beni Aissi

Besides the everyday utensils which, by the way, are the most interesting and the most beautiful in their simplicity, there is the elaborate pottery used for gifts and for certain ceremonies. The bridal lamps (Plate 18) are an evolution of the oil lamp of antiquity; they have one, three, five or seven wicks and are on a pedestal. They are used during the several days of the wedding ceremony, and it is considered an ill omen if, through a gust of wind or some other cause the flame dies.

There is a peculiar vase the *thibuk'alin* (Plates 20-21-24) made of several bottles or jugs linked together in twos or threes, so that the liquid within can flow through them all. Sometimes these *thibuk'alins* have spouts for pouring, a thing absolutely lacking in all other types of Berber pottery although in Kabylie this feature is now being adopted. Like the animal shaped vases reminiscent of those found in tombs of prehistoric Egypt and Cyprus, and the strange vessels made of cup-like receptacles connected by a horizontal tube on a pedestal, the spout of which is usually in the shape of the head of a woman or a cow, the *thibuk'alin* seems to have a religious significance and was probably used for libations or offerings in some ancient ritual.

In the luxury class also is the small so-called bride's water jar seen everywhere. In Berber lands you can always depend on doing the right thing in wedding presents by giving a water jug; a bride cannot have too many of these since they will not only serve a utilitarian purpose but a social one as well.

The Berber woman enjoys a little more freedom than her Arab sister; she can go out in broad daylight unveiled, she can converse with her husband and her brother out of doors. But, if she is an honest woman, she will not venture forth alone without this little ceramic chaperone, whatever may be her real destination. And never is a man allowed to go to the spring unless he be a strange traveler in dire need of a drink that he must take without lingering.

The common ware of the Berbers comprises many different kinds of utensils. First of all, water jars (Plates 22-23); they are invariably

beautiful, with graceful, slender, ovoid forms. Charles Géniaux in *Sous les figuiers de Kabylie* comments on this, and remarks that, while moſt primitive peoples' jugs are heavy and squatty, the handſome Berber women whose movements are so full of inſtinctive grace, have been able to give their water jars the slender elegance of their Diana-like bodies.

They make also drinking cups, urns for milk and oil, kettles to cook soups and ſtews, shallow pans for the flat, unleavened bread, and a ſteamer made of a kettle on which fits another pan with perforated bottom where the national dish, the *kouskous* is cooked. The *kouskous* is then served in a decorated, traditionally shallow dish often mounted on a circular foot. (Plate 24) This *kouskous* dish is often very large; we have seen some measuring over three feet in diameter. To ſtore butter and honey they make some urns with covers so well fitted that they can be hermetically closed.

In the homes of the sedentary peoples one finds unglazed, usually unbaked jars of enormous size, used as ſtorage bins and built in the place that they are to occupy, on ſtrong benches or in alcoves at the back of the family living room. They contribute not a little to make less dismal the cheerless interior. These *akoufis* are made of clay reinforced with chopped ſtraw and are usually decorated in raised relief; they are often square in shape and have two circular openings, one at the top, one near the base to facilitate the removal of the grain or figs ſtored within. In the Marrakesh region are found large urns of the same type but made of a framework of reed and palmetto coated with clay and cow dung. These huge jars lined on the terraced roofs bring to mind the ſtory of the forty thieves.

In the Moroccan Atlas they also make clay brasiers, sometimes mounted on feet, sometimes held by a metal ſtand; these brasiers may be painted or decorated in relief, but occasionally the design is cut into the clay. Throughout southern Morocco one can buy inexpensive jars wheel-made and kiln-baked; these jars are almoſt

PLATE 24 *Courtesy of Gt. Gl. de l'Algérie*

Pottery from near Marnia (Kabylie) *thibuk'alin,* milk jug, footed *kouskous* dish with sauce pitcher

invariably beautiful in shape, and when they carry any decoration it is very simple but extremely well proportioned. They are made by men from the country of the Dra and the Mesfioua.

While the designs in use in the decoration of pottery are, as we said, hereditary in each family, the tradition is so persiſtent that jugs, etc., found in the Riff country and in the High Atlas of Morocco are almoſt indiſtinguishable from those made by the Kabyles of Algeria. In the Aurès, however, while the designs remain similar they are more apt to be in relief than painted. (Plate 26).

The intereſting Fez pottery frequently seen in Europe and in America has been developed commercially as have some other types of urban pottery in Tunisia and Morocco. It conforms in designs to the beautiful old Hispano-Moorish Fez ware, but it is inferior to it in quality. It is made on wheels and by men.

JEWELRY

PLATE 25 *Courtesy of Gt. Gl. de l'Algérie*

The influence of Berber art on modern pottery; the piece at the left is by M. Delduc, a French ceramist of Algiers who finds inspiration in native forms; the others were made in mission schools

PLATE 26 *Courtesy of Gt. Gl. de l'Algérie*

Berber pottery with the designs in relief, from the Aurès

VIII

JEWELRY

IT WAS also in Kabylie that we started our hunt for silver ornaments. Learning that this industry has best survived among the members of the Beni-Yenni tribe in their villages near Fort National, we climbed to this mountain aerie and inquired where we might find Redjah Mahiout of Ait el Arba, the noted craftsman in silver. Through a wild and majestic country of sharp peaks and forests of cork oak redolent with the scent of the wild cyclamen we reached at last the village.

It was a lean sort of man with grey eyes, two weeks beard turning into iron and with a mustache like that of an old Texas plainsman who came to the door. He graciously invited us in. We exchanged greetings, cigarets and the time of day.

His workshop consisted of a few blocks of wood, a small crucible or two, pincers, hammers, mallet, a bar of silver, a pair of crude scales, pinches of enamel, a few corals, molds and sooty powdered clay, all on the dirt floor. He bade us sit on a bench covered by a beautiful Kabyle rug in white and ultramarine, woven by his wife. On a chest were a few examples of pottery, some small baskets and a design for a diadem. On a shelf before the only window we saw a variety of silver ornaments.

One hurries not in Africa. We examined his beauties piece by piece and drew him into reluctant speech. Here was a bracelet

three inches wide made to order for the belle of the village. It was inlaid with blue, green and yellow enamel within spaces delimited by a design in raised silver of crosses and x's and a circular pattern acquired from Mycenae, Crete or who knows where. Here were smaller, daintier bracelets of the same pattern. There were *akerkrals,* anklets of silver from two to six inches wide, descendants perhaps of those early ones connected by chains which were born by the aristocratic maidens of Carthage as emblems of virginity. Like the bracelets the *akerkrals* are either cylinders with a longitudinal opening to slip them on, or they are hinged in the middle and at the opening; the hinges being merely coils of silver wire through which a silver peg is inserted. Some of the narrow bracelets are simple hoops large enough to pass over the hand.

We saw large, circular pectoral placques inlaid with enamels and corals, and similar ornaments used for the headdress; these are worn by the mother as a sign of rejoicing at the birth of a son, the number of pendants which derive from these headdress ornaments indicating the number of her sons (Plate 28). Poor silversmith! no doubt his conscience still hurts him for having let himself be persuaded to make for the author one of these ornaments and for putting three pendants on it for her three children, although she has only one son! And girls count for but little in Africa. If the new-born child is a girl, an ordinary everyday *bezima* (Plates 28-30) is all that the mother is allowed to wear. The design of the *bezima* has gone through many evolutions and the Kabyles themselves may have forgotten its meaning, but we have seen its prototype in the mystic emblem of Tanit, goddess of Carthage. (Figures 34-35)

It is by tradition triangular although other shapes are now and then used, and may attain unbelievable sizes and weights, six inches sometimes. The pin proper is perforated at the base to allow for manipulation of a nearly circular piece which serves as catch or safety, in the manner of the Celtic fibulae. The same raised filigree effect already mentioned is used to decorate the *bezima,* and pieces of polished coral either round or tear drop-shaped are

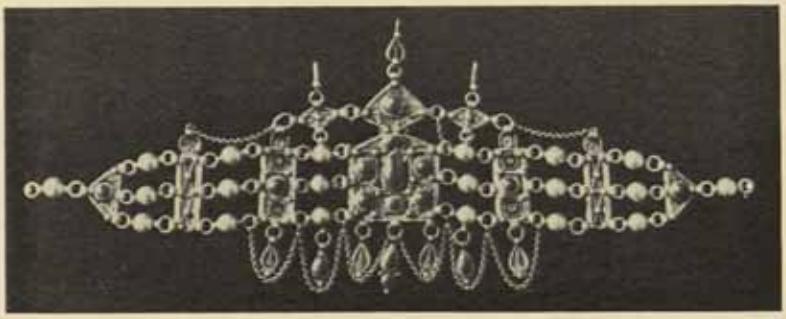


PLATE 27 *In University of Oklahoma Collection*

Zeriref or diadem of silver enameled and inserted with corals. Three hooks at the top serve to faſten it to the turban

mounted on it. While the back of other pieces of jewelry is rarely decorated the reverse side of the *bezima* is usually made beautiful, often more beautiful or rather less barbaric, than the face, since the design on it is apt to be delicately incised, and not infrequently finished with touches of enamel.

The Berbers are exceedingly clever at this work of enameling especially when we consider their very primitive tools. They use three colors: ultramarine blue, a yellow that varies from ochre to lemon, and a pale, clear green.

A commonly seen ornament, the *zina siara* (Plate 30), is made of two *bezimas* used to faſten over the shoulders the red or blue cloth which, aided by an elaborate woolen girdle, resolves itself into a *khount* or feminine coſtume. These *bezimas* are connected by silver chains bearing at intervals oblong placques of silver decorated and coral adorned, the whole forming an elaborate cheſt piece. Not only that, but flat silver boxes as large as weſtern cigaret holders often hang from these chains. No, they are not frivolous items such as cigaret holders or vanity cases, but amulet boxes containing talismans againſt the evil eye; ſtrange, incomprehensible formulae or verses of the Koran written on paper or parchment, and heterogeneous subſtances like bits of iron, owl's eyes, hairs of humans and animals, shreds of magic cloths, ashes and paſtes compounded of more or less gruesome materials (Plate 5).

We found huge earrings of silver, hoops three inches in diameter with curious zig-zag designs built up in cluſters of pebbles, like pyramids of cannon balls on our village squares, but here symbols of the *kouskous* grain, the universal food of Africa. These earrings are so large and so heavy that they muſt be hung on cloth bands passed like ribbons over the head.

In a box were finger rings set with enameled ornaments in the shape of a dome, ribbed and vaulted, in place of a ſtone; and in another a placque revealing the myſtic ſtar of the signet ring of the wise king Solomon of Judea.

There were *zerirefs* (Plate 27) diadems made of placques of silver decorated with coral and colored enamels, and held together by several rows of heavy silver chain, with pendants. The pendants are often very beautiful; sometimes their shape is reminiscent of an amphora, sometimes they carry details such as are found on Phenician funeral ſtelae, again they are made of a drop of coral encased in silver. The haughty daughters of the Djurdjura wear these barbaric ornaments with a regal air, no doubt from long habit, for in the Sixth century B. C. they were already famous for their proud beauty and their jewelled crowns.

The variety in necklaces is also great, from the more or less complicated sets of silver chain and the double or triple rows of rough pieces of coral ſtrung as beads and held in place at intervals by decorated bars of silver (Plate 29), to the type which is reminiscent of ancient Egyptian necklaces; it is made of flat, oblong or nearly triangular elements which increase in size, reaching their maximum at the center; these elements are enameled; on them mounted corals often alternate with round silver balls while pendants further decorate the front half of the necklace. (Plate 29)

We noticed other silver pieces less elegant, unenameled and caſt from molds, that seemed out of keeping with the reſt. We queſtioned the silversmith:

"Mais non," he answered, "these things are not Kabyle. We have long practised the art of working in silver; now and then we turn out some Arab ornaments, and you see that we can do it better than the Arabs themselves."

And he demonſtrated to us how this is done as he was juſt then filling a special order. With the sooty clay he fashioned a mold with infinite care, then poured into it the molten silver. There remained only to polish the piece, although in this case he made it more elaborate by etching also a design.

The Berber ware is sometimes caſt, then engraved and chiseled. But more commonly the design conſiſts of a raised filigree work

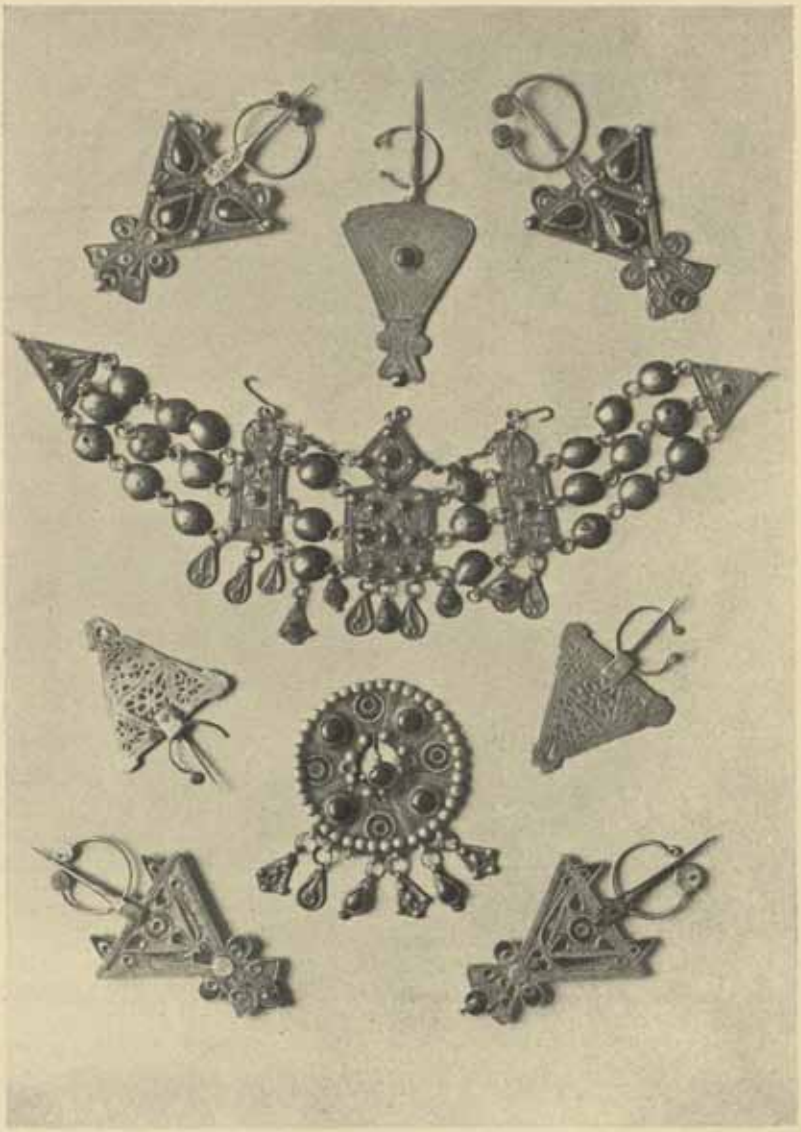


PLATE 28 *Courtesy of Gt. Gl. de l'Algérie*

Berber jewels from Kabylie. At the top, *bezimas* decorated with corals and enamels, one *bezima* etched, at center, a *zeriref,* two *bezimas* of moulded silver, a mother's frontal placque, at bottom, two *bezimas* seen in reverse

applied on a solid surface; it is within the spaces outlined by the filigree threads which form various designs, that the enamels are applied.

Having in mind the symbolism to be found in all creative works of the Amerinds, we asked: "What does this mean? And that?"

"Oh! I don't know. Juſt a design." He dismissed the subject gracefully and quickly, and we wondered whether the secret is loſt or only well guarded. We always received the same answer, "I don't know," and many others before us have tried without great result to plumb the myſtery. It meant something once upon a time, no doubt of that; but these rural people have no written language, and many of their old men have taken the lore with them into the tomb. Here and there, it is true, we identified a symbol that takes us back to the days of Carthage, of Babylon and beyond. But the design language has probably undergone many changes since then.

Because the cross is often found in Berber decoration and in tribal tatoo marks, the romantic theory has been advanced that when they were forced to abjure Chriſtianity for Islam, they adopted the cross in token of their real feeling and as a mark of recognition between themselves. The same hypothesis has been offered as an explanation for the very impractical and cumbersome yet traditional cross like pommel of the Tuaregs' camel saddle. An unbiased ſtudy of the facts shows these theories to be without foundation; the cross exiſted in Berber decoration before the Chriſtian era, and it is found in the decoration of many non-Chriſtian peoples; it is simply one of the firſt designs evolved by all primitive men in their attempt at combining lines.

Another decorative element is the famous hand of Fathma, a design crudely resembling a hand and used not only by the Berbers but also by other Moslems and even by the Jews. All these people attribute powerful magical qualities to this device which is used not only in jewelry but in nearly every form of decoration and which is also painted on the doors and walls of houses to ward away evil

spirits. Many a time have we seen Berbers and Arabs in dread of the evil eye raise their right hand, fingers extended and touching, and hold it successively in the four directions of space and against us, dangerous Roumis, the while they muttered under their breath the cabalistic: *"Khamsa filah-e-nek"* (five in thine eye), meaning "How I would enjoy gouging your eyes out with my own five fingers, strangers, for, not knowing you, I hate and I fear you. But it is not safe to harm Roumis and we Moslems can only wait for the Djehad. So I hope that the marabout told us the truth, that by virtue of these magic words and this magic gesture harm shall come to you, that the light shall go out of your eyes to let disease and death enter."

Moslems invariably say that they revere this emblem in memory of Fathma, the favorite daughter of Mahomed; but this design was a source of worship long before the days of the Prophet, and it more likely symbolises the sacred lotus seen in profile or the equally sacred flower of the male palm.

The number five because it represents the hand is sacred, and we notice how often it recurs alone or in its multiples in jewelry as well as in almost everything else. The diadems are usually composed of five principal pieces, the pendants deriving from them also number five or ten. In necklaces the pendants and the units of decoration are multiples of five, in placques and in *bezimas* there are usually five inset corals, unless there is a single one which is then called the eye, and which no doubt symbolizes an ever watchful magic eye on the *qui vive* for any evil spirit and for witchcraft. This stone represents the pupil and its silver setting is easily assimulated to the white of the eye. The symbolism is even more pronounced when the stone is light with a darker center, showing that it is selected with care for its resemblance; it is called cat's eye.

The number three so often regarded with awe and veneration among primitive peoples is much valued by the Berbers and appears in the form of three ornaments as designs or three parts to a design.

PLATE 29 *Courtesy of Gt. Gl. de l'Algérie*

Berber jewelry, most of it made by the Beni Aissi. At top, modern necklace in the center of which is a placque; below, necklace of coral and placques, necklace with amphora like pendants, and modern necklace

In children's *burnouses* especially, is this decoration frequent, exactly why the author has been unable to ascertain, although she thinks it refers to the father—mother—child trinity concept.

In the wild mountains of the Aurès, the Chaouia women came to meet us loaded with silver jewelry of a distinct design and pattern, un-enameled and very heavy. Some of them carry several pounds of silver. Their arms and ankles are armored with a dozen heavy bracelets and their chests are covered with silver ornaments like chain mail. After considerable diplomatic negotiations we finally secured some excellent examples of their art, and forthwith the author's husband grew in the esteem of the Aurès women. They had felt exceedingly sorry for the author because she wore so little jewelry and because she was the only wife of her husband; they even advised her to seek a divorce on these grounds. The inhabitants of the Aurès are not used to travelers, in fact they are not enthusiastic about them; there are no hotels or inns and practically no roads in their mountains. The only way to visit them is by pack mules with native guides, guards and retainers.

The jewelry of the Aurès depends for its distinctive character on the use of silver chains as pendants or rather as a sort of long fringe which hangs from *bezimas,* placques, etc. Each strand of this chain fringe ends in a piece of coral or a silver bead or hoop; the effect is decidedly decorative though much more primitive and barbaric than that of Kabyle or Moroccan jewelry (Plates 5-30).

A necklace which is common and highly prized in the Aurès, although it is not exclusively of that district, since it is found also in other Berber centers, consists of beads or pendants made of a dark hardened paste compounded of cloves and gazelle dung, with perhaps a little musk, from which the body warmth of the wearer releases a pungent, aromatic odor. These pendants or beads are sometimes mounted in silver; they often alternate with silver placques and with pendants of coral or with long, uncut pieces of coral which are threaded like beads (Plate 5).

There is a peculiar kind of bracelet and anklet made of a band of silver, sometimes as wide as four inches, plain or decorated, studded with one-half inch or one inch projections, square or round, like thick blunt nails. These projections have, no doubt, a phallic significance and it is likely that they refer to an early form of worship found among some tribes. They are worn a little everywhere but especially by the Ouled Naïls, and they are often very clumsy, lacking all artistic feeling (Plates 6-30).

In Morocco the jewelry, while showing a few minor differences, adheres closely to the same fundamental ornamentation and technique. There the filigree work is sometimes open as in Spanish and Mexican jewelry though the designs are purely geometrical.

Silver is the metal generally used by Berber jewelers, although now and then one will see silver and gold ornaments. Gold, pearls and precious stones are, however, rarely seen outside of the cities and the wealthier homes, and gold jewelry is finer and more sophisticated, with Persian and Indian influences; of late, European ornaments have been in demand among the upper classes. It is evident that formerly gold was worked exactly as silver still is, etched, enameled, etc. Today it is only in Morocco that one can find modern gold jewelry made in the Berber manner.

The manufacture of jewelry among the Berbers is the monopoly of certain tribes and occupies a relatively small number of workmen. These men are now found scattered here and there through the land, since their own native villages can hardly afford them a living.

This and the fact that jewels are a form of currency—the women are in truth walking savings banks—accounts for the fact that the different types are found scattered everywhere, making a study of their origins a very difficult undertaking.

The Berber jewelers make not only ornaments for women, they also decorate dagger and sword blades and scabbards, gun and pistol stocks. They carry out the same methods and designs in this work as in the jewels, though the curve, the meander, the spiral

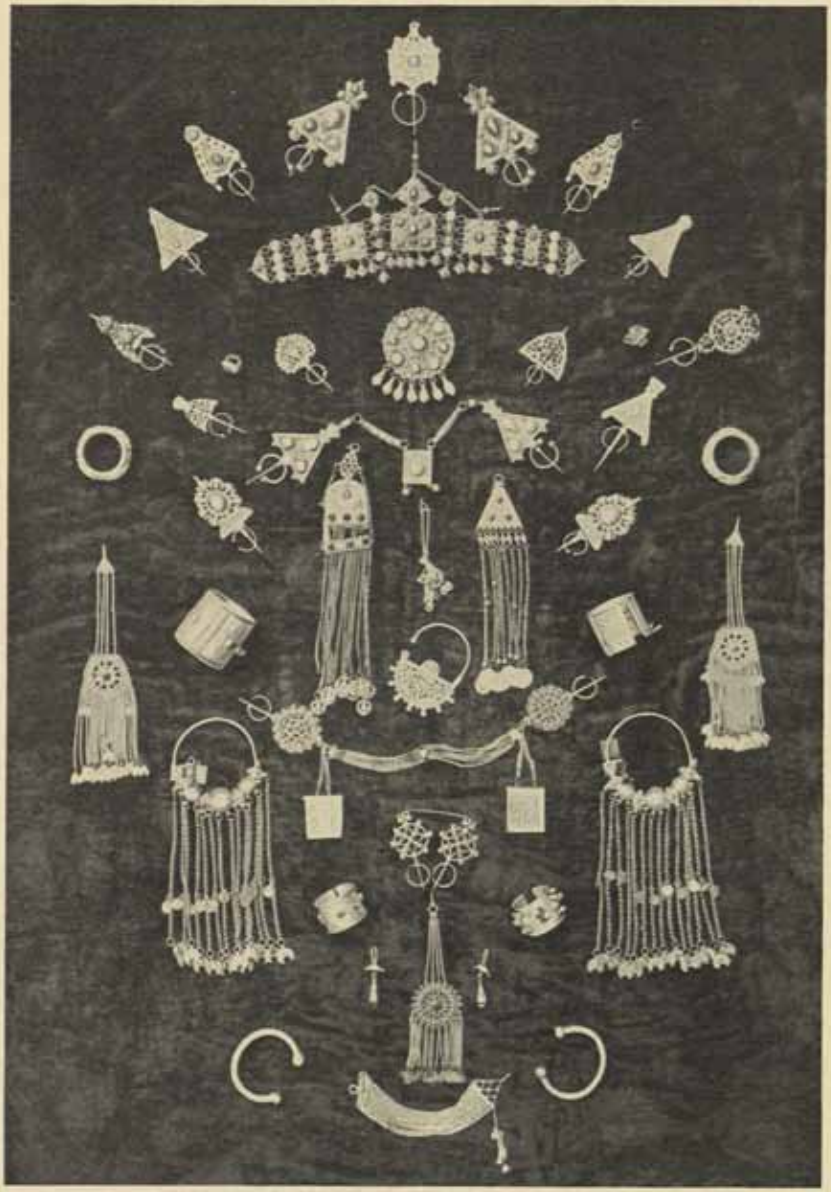


PLATE 30 *Courtesy of Gt. Gl. de l'Algérie*

Berber jewelry from various districts; at the top, from Kabylie, at the bottom, from the Aurès. Various types of *bezimas* and bracelets. In the center, below the placque, and again below the half disk earring, are *zina siaras*. Notice the large hoop earrings with long chain fringe

and even timid attempts at arabesques are noticeable in this work, showing a greater sophiſtication or a tendency to accept outside influences for objects used by men while remaining conservative where women are concerned. Even to guns of modern European manufacture the Berbers often add a silver or copper sheathing which they decorate, chisel, inlay with ivory or precious ſtones (Plates 31-32). The High Atlas, the Riff, the Sous are particularly lavish in these gun decorations. The Moroccan *kumia* or dagger is particularly intereſting and often remarkable for the consummate artiſtry and the skill with which it is made. The Chleu daggers carry five ſtones in order to add the ſtrength of magic to the worth of the blade. In the Aurès they make silver spurs of a special pattern, beautiful and dagger sharp.

The decoration used by Berber jewelers conſiſts of single and parallel lines, squares, diamonds, triangles and hexagons, ſtars, rosaces, wheels, crosses often inscribed in circles, ſtraight or sinuous lines of dots, combinations of all these elements. It has characteriſtics in common with those of the arts of ancient Egypt, Carthage, Tyre and those of old Gaul and Merovingian France, besides reminiscences of the ancient Cretans, Etruscans and Celts.

While the Berber jeweler of today exhibits a great cleverness in craftsmanship he shows little imagination, copying only the patterns and designs that were handed down to him by his ancestors. He has long been known to use a silver of very poor quality, while since the price of coral has soared he often subſtitutes for this sealing wax and celluloid. And, as in some diſtricts the touriſt trade has created a certain demand for his ware, his technical facility is leading him too often to manufacture sweetened versions of his severe Berber art which he sells for good money, the while loosing his auſtere sense of design.

WEAVING

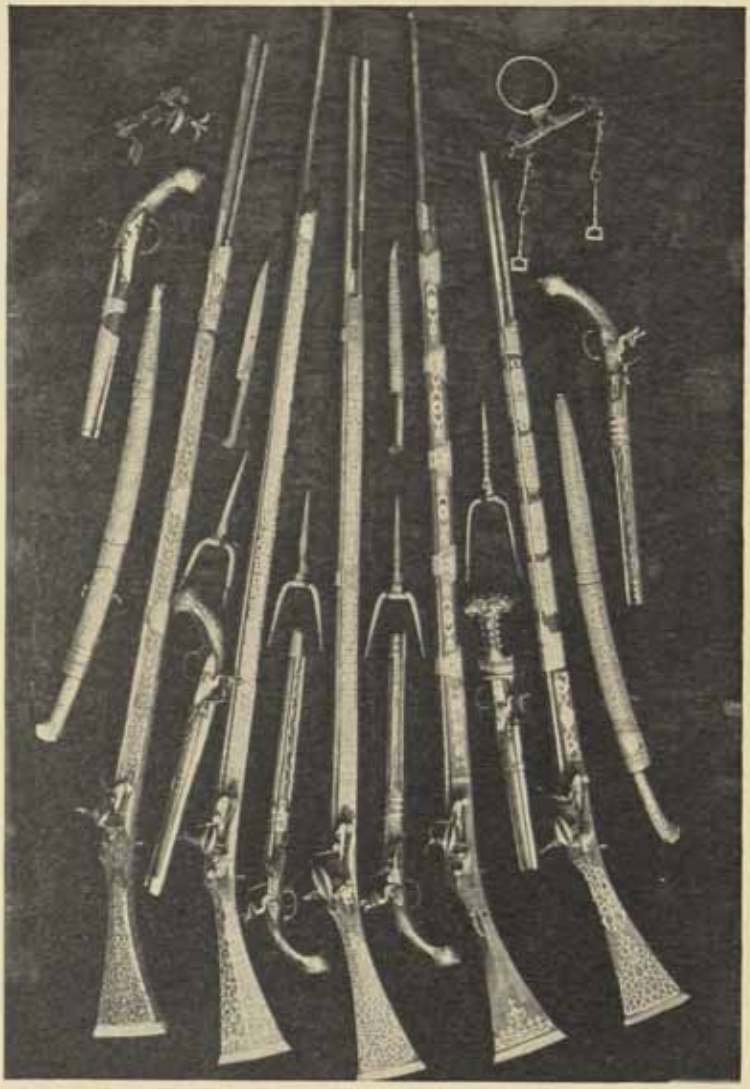


PLATE 31 *Courtesy of Gt. Gl. de l'Algérie*

Berber guns, flintlocks, pistols, swords, knives, spurs, etc. from the Aurès and from Kabylie

IX

WEAVING

THE magnificent specimens in the museum at Algiers plainly show that the people of North Africa have long known how to make rugs. The natives of Mahgreb and Ifrikiya were at one time almoſt equal in skill to the weavers of Asia Minor. Until the present time, however, the African rug was not an article of commerce, and this craft, like many another declined under Turkish rule. Especially since the World war the French have made an intensive effort to revive the urban rug making induſtry; markets have been created and the business is in a fair way of becoming a financial asset to the colony. There are now employed at the looms about three thouſand weavers in and around Algiers alone. In Tunisia rug weaving is also having a renaiſſance, while Morocco's possibilities are being developed with rare discrimination and with sympathy.

Many of the modern commercial rugs are, however, imitations of the Persian, Turkish and Bokhara products, because for these there is already a taſte and a demand, though there is now an attempt made to direct the public's attention to the native ware.

Of greater intereſt from the ſtudent's viewpoint are the primitive rugs of the Berbers and the Arabised Berber nomads. These rugs are generally sober in color and as a rule purely linear or geometrical in design. Following the Berber tradition, as in their pottery

and other arts they use lines, crosses, diamonds, rectangles, triangles, often with saw tooth borders, dots, etc. The colors are simple; black, white, indigo blue, yellow, kermiss red, green, brown in several tints, usually verging on red, gray, often the natural undyed color, and the warm, natural fawn. The keen color sense of these people is evident in their appreciation of the tonal value of pure white in contrast to creamy white.

One color usually dominates in these primitive rugs: blue in the Djebel Amour with strong contrasts in red, white with contrasts in blue in Kabylie, white with contrasts in black in the Middle Atlas.

The rugs, or rather the textiles, are the principal furniture of both Berbers and Arabs. They are bed, chair, lounge, blanket, cloak, pillow, trunk, saddle, etc. for the sedentary tribes; for the nomadic ones all that and roof, door, wall, partition as well. Like the pottery they are both a necessity and a luxury, and they create comfort and beauty even in squalid surroundings. They are in fact the ideal furniture, since they can be packed quickly and easily as nothing else would, and the raw materials are always available. There are plenty to be seen, though not always to be bought off the beaten paths, in the High Plateaux, in the Djurdjura, in the Aurès and the High Atlas, as well as way into the Sahara, in the M'zab and the Touat.

Just as we find a common quality in the potteries and the jewels of the different Berber nations, we see the Berber rugs exhibit the same tenacious characteristics whether they are made by the Chleus of the Moroccan Atlas, the Kabyles of Algeria or the M'zabites of the Sahara, even though the different branches of the Berber family have not been, as it were, on speaking terms for centuries and are separated by hundreds of kilometers. However, the differences are more marked in the weaving than in the other arts. It is indeed a puzzling thing that the Berbers reach such degree of sophistication in their jewelry and especially in their textiles

PLATE 32 *In Jacobson Collection*

Ancient *yataghan* and scabbard from the Riff country

while their pottery remains so crude. But that is one of the paradoxes which characterize these people and which make them a fascinating study.

The sedentary tribes rig up a rudimentary loom of two vertical poles; they stretch the warp between rolls at top and bottom as do the Navajos. On this they produce textiles of great beauty, exhibiting a high technical skill, a strong artistic sense and a fanciful imagination. On the same type of loom, the native women weave their own shawls, *foutahs, haiks* and other wearing apparel, and *burnouses* and *ghandouras* for their men.

Going south into the Sahara in October we fell in with nomads who were leaving the High Plateaux for their winter haunts, and we had occasion to see at close range, sometimes, indeed, too close range, their tents, their equipment, as well as their weaving and their manner of living. They use a most primitive loom: four pegs are driven in the ground about twenty-four inches apart for the width and anywhere from eighteen to forty five feet apart for the length; these are the usual dimensions of the *flidjs* or narrow strips of cloth which, sewed together, form the tent (Plate 12). The warp is stretched lengthways on two sticks, sometimes even on two or three thicknesses of thread. No shuttle is used as they pass the warp with their hands in the simplest over and under stitch; they secure firmness into their work by pounding it with a hook or a stick, rarely with a primitive comb. The *flidjs* are made of sheep's wool, goats' and camels' hair, and sometimes in part of fiber from the palm. They are usually striped in natural colors of black and brown, black and white or brown with white. In western Morocco they are solid black. The stripe is purely a warp effect.

Also striped and made of the same materials in the same colors but more ornate are blankets, *tellis,* tent curtains, palanquin covers, ranging in width from three to six feet and in length from five to ten or eleven feet. They are often woven on the vertical loom and the stripe may be horizontal due to the use of vari-colored wood. In these we sometimes find the stripes edged by one row

of black or other contrasting color wool. Sometimes two or three narrow stripes of very small designs in a brighter color are introduced at equal or unequal distance through the piece. On a blanket in our collection, striped in red, yellow and black there are two rows of very small diamonds in reddish brown wool, one of these rows is on a black stripe, the other on a red one; in both cases the row of diamonds is not in the middle of the stripe but along one edge.

On a very heavy piece of rough goat's hair in black and natural fawn color, with a little red, three rows of diamonds are placed at unequal distance across the length. They are simply made of oblique lines crossing and recrossing to form three rows of diamonds fitting one into the other; the result is very effective.

We had been hunting in vain through the *suks* of various towns to purchase a sample of this most primitive of textiles which we had noticed on passing camels more than once, made into pack bags or *tellis*. The *suks* always specialized in less crude goods. The merchants would shrug their shoulders when we explained what we wanted, incredulous that we should prefer such a lowly article to the beautiful things they showed us; they could not understand this strange whim of ours. In Touggourt, the trade center of Northern Sahara, we again went shopping; for there is nothing more colorful, more fascinating nor more enlightening than the native markets of North Africa, from the urban *suks* of Tunis, Constantine, Algiers and Fez with their sophisticated, brilliant, luxurious wares to the humble desert marts and the *fondouks* at the cross roads which come to life once a week or once a month when the whole country roundabout gathers there to trade and to speed on the latest news.

In Touggourt there is space, plenty of it; and the market spreads over in squares (more or less square), in sand strewn plazas, and through crooked lanes under mysterious, dark arched passageways. We had to cross first the food and herb market. Scattered in the immense *djemaa* were small piles of products heaped on fiber mats

PLATE 33 *Courtesy of Gt. Gl. de l'Algérie*

Kabyle cloak or blanket

spread on the sand in front of squatting vendors, here wheat, the hard, gluten-rich kind from which *kouskous* is made, expensive in the desert, cheaper barley, beans, squashes, prickly pears, dates just ripening and attracting incredible swarms of flies, radishes and cucumbers much in demand, grown in the date gardens under the shade of the palms; there, strange herbs for medicinal and magical purposes, henna to tint the nails and hair of harem beauties, to toughen the feet of out-going caravaners, sure cures against the ever present oasis malaria, roots to make a lotion for eye infections, dried grasses brought from afar and guaranteed to weave a potent love spell. In clay pots strange, unsavory looking concoctions were stewing over a few charcoals, filling the air with the pungent aroma of mutton tallow mixed with spices.

Behind their stores the merchants squatted on the sand, protected from the sun's rays by straw mats attached to frail mobile supports somewhat like saw horses. When not engaged in heated haggling with some customer they would doze placidly, or hum in a low voice some verse of the Koran which they accompanied by a rhythmic swaying of their shoulders.

Across the *suk* of the leather merchants we went giving only half a glance to the saddles and boots, some of which were magnificent, to the lowly *babushes,* and the goat skins used as water and milk containers. Through a dark archway we could glimpse the stock market from which came the sounds of eager marchants' and buyers' voices, the raucous groans of ever complaining camels, the insulting laughter of donkeys, the bleating of sheep, and a mixed but very pungent odor. Next we passed grinning blacks whose stock in trade is the scanty precious wood gathered who knows how far, which is bought by the handful at stupendous prices.

Almost before we reached the textiles market eager merchants beckoned to us, pulling from their piles showy articles, elaborate cushions, embroidered veils, rugs such as they thought would tempt us. Brushing these aside we explained what we wanted.

At once they ſtopped and ſtared at us, then argued among themſelves. After a while one of the men called us and led us to the very edge of the market while the reſt of the jabbering merchants formed themselves into an escort to view the proceedings. There the goods were much rougher and under a pile we glimpsed a corner of the very article we had been pursuing.

Before the merchant with eyes heavy from sleep had been brought the whole combined force of the market was beginning to make the sale, for these people are born vendors of any kind of goods and they could show aces and spades to the highly trained, efficiency nurtured salesmen of the Weſt.

We were haggling, no transaction in the Orient is proper without haggling, and when one begins to underſtand the fine points of this special sport one derives considerable fun from it. Now we were only twenty francs apart and the merchant was obdurate. He was holding forth on the solidity of the piece, the fine, even weaving done by his wife, he said. Still we ſuspected his price of being yet too high and we refused to increase our bid.

Suddenly he dropped the *tellis* on the sand and ran, saying: "Wait, I'll see if my wife will accept your price." We ſtood speechleſs. Who ever heard of a North African man, Arab or Berber, deferring to his wife? So, when he returned, shaking his head and saying: "No, it can't be done," we made him a sporting propoſition: If he would fetch the beauty who held him thus under her hennaed thumb we would pay his price without demur.

A ſtrange thing happened then. A wave of laughter spread from the center to the edges of the crowd, gathering momentum as it went; all around us were merry eyes. We were puzzled. Yet we sensed that the onlookers were laughing with, not at us. And finally all became clear. Near us ſtood M'hamed-ben-Ali, the handsome young merchant, looking very sheepish and blushing furiously. For M'hamed-ben-Ali had no wife, and the crowd found huge merriment in seeing him caught in the meshes of his

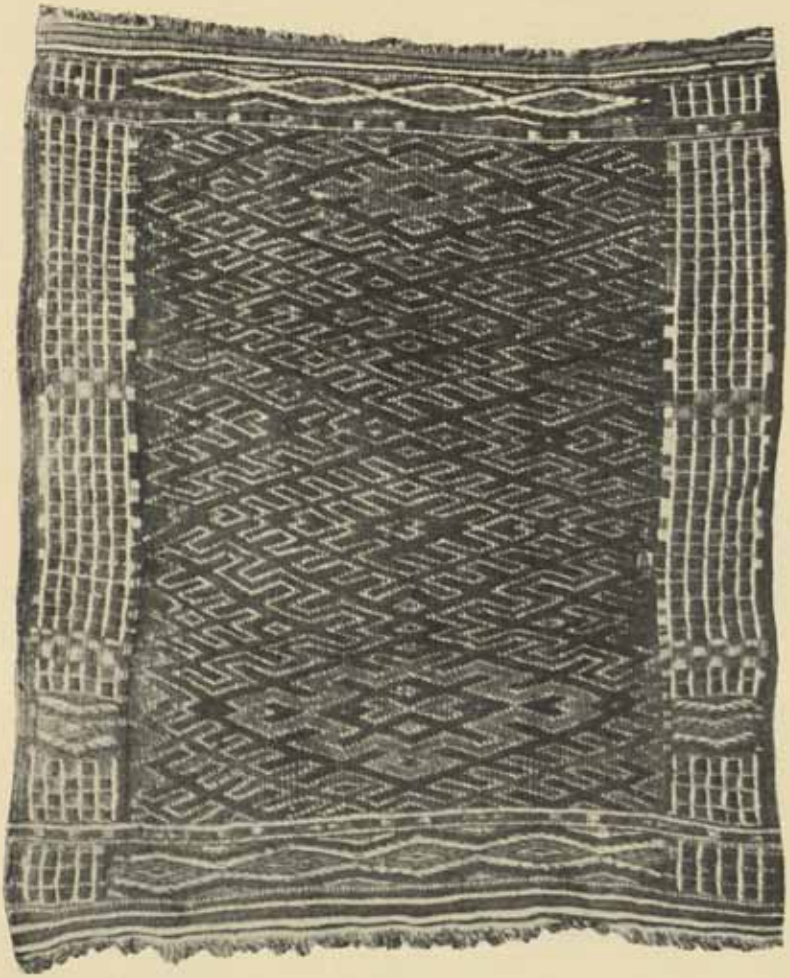


PLATE 34 *Courtesy of Gt. Gl. de l'Algérie*

Rug from the Djebel Amour

fine sales talk. Soon, however, he joined in the laughter, and he was so good natured about it that we bought his piece.

This little incident developed a friendly feeling for us, of which we were aware throughout our ſtay in Touggourt, and the neighboring oasis. For the news spread, and even the beggar at the Temacine mosque delivered his profuse and flowery *ſalaams* with an amused twinkle in his one eye. It also made it much easier for us to approach people and to ask queſtions of all sorts.

We soon come to the more complicated weaving, in which extra colored threads are introduced to secure an ornamentation sometimes very beautiful and apparently elaborate, although the designs remain as always simple and purely geometrical. While this type of weaving is found among all the Berbers it is moſt developed in Kabylie, in the Djebel Amour and the Moroccan Atlas. I believe the Riff to be as advanced also, but the Riff country is not yet opened to curious minded people.

The Kabyles weave a comparatively thin textile used as blanket and cloak, which is extremely intereſting and of a finished workmanship. (Frontiſpiece and Plate 33). The warp is of cream white wool very finely spun and hard twiſted, noticeably thicker in the center than at the sides of the piece. The woof, also of white wool, is loosely twiſted and about twice as thick, spun so as to give a grainy texture sometimes called *kouskous* wave. Wide ſtripes of dark blue or dark reddish brown wool are woven horizontally; in the better types they do not run completely across but leave a white center which may be shaped like a vertical ſtripe or a cross. Some narrow ſtripes of the same blue or brown run vertically on this white ground either through the whole or part of the length, and they are flanked by symmetrical or alternating triangles where the blue and white wool form very small checkers.

The broad blue or brown ſtripes serve as background for the moſt delicate, one might almoſt say whimsical, weaving. Groups of very small ſtitches in fine, colored wool give the appearance of grainy dots arranged in lines, horizontal or diagonal, and diamonds

or triangles. The color range is invariably red, yellow, green, in soft vegetable tints, and white. The white thread for this detail work is usually cotton and it is as finely spun and hard twisted as medium size American sewing thread. It is used also for cobwebby effects which may stand as single rows of small diamonds, larger denticulated diamonds and triangles to form complicated designs, also chevrons and short, slender, vertical lines, always on the background of the dark stripes. As in all common Berber textiles there is no border, the sides are blue or brown, and the ends white; they are fringed, at the top the length of the fringe is determined by the thickness of the wooden roller, about two inches, at the bottom it is usually about five inches.

One is amazed that such exquisite results can be achieved with the primitive means at hand, that the simplest geometrical combinations can produce such rich decoration, and one is inspired with respect for the nimble fingers that fashion such pieces. No wonder the textiles of Numidia were in demand in the ancient world, no wonder the Athenian poet, Hermippe, praised their beauty and their solidity in the Fifth century B. C.

The type of blanket just described is now used only as a cloak by the Kabyle women who make their *khount* of blue or red cotton goods often of European manufacture. But they wear the cotton in the ancestral manner. An oblong piece about four and one-half feet in width and six or seven feet in length is wrapped around the body passing under one arm; the two ends brought together over the other shoulder are fastened with a *bezima*. Another *bezima* catches the cloth brought over the first shoulder to form a sort of loose baggy sleeve. An elaborate belt made of vari-colored strands of wool, knotted and tufted, with coils of silver wire (now as often as not tin wire) wound around here and there, is fastened two or three times around the waist and tied, leaving the ends hanging. In the Aurès and in Morocco the heavier homespun textiles are still used in the same manner.

PLATE 35 *In Jacobson Collection*

Two donkey bags. At left, a very old and worn Djebel Amour, at right, a Sétif

Occasionally a blanket or rug is made of narrow ſtrips woven separately then sewed together. One such piece which seems to come from the Atlas and shows evidence of age and wear is made up of five ſtrips, each about one foot wide and twelve feet long, sewed longitudinally. The ſtripes run crosswise and match perfectly for a certain space, although one of the ſtrips, perhaps made by a different weaver, proves a little longer throwing the blanket out of order. There also the ground is the usual white, although the wool is neither as fine nor as hard twiſted as in the Kabyle textiles. The ſtripes are red edged with black; at certain intervals there are very narrow ſtripes of yellow and blue, and diamond designs in white, black and yellow. Here the blue is much lighter in color, being almoſt a Delft blue.

The Djebel-Amour diamond is characteriſtic and it is found in textiles, blankets and rugs woven in the Djebel-Amour mountain diſtrict, and in some other highlands even into Morocco (Plates 34-35 Figure 36). It is a diamond of a peculiar kind being denticulated so that the angles and the lines which form it make a complicated looking design. Another peculiar feature is the manner in which this design is outlined by very small dots of a contraſting color, which prevent any feeling of heaviness. This diamond may be fairly small and compact, used in series within a ſtripe, but it is more often of very large size, and its outline is so indented as to make it appear more like a group of designs than a unit. The inside of this diamond is apt to form other diamond patterns in the same or in contraſting colors; triangles are also used in connection with this.

We have a Djebel-Amour donkey bag (Plate 35), made of a piece about five and one-half feet long and a little over three feet wide. Both sides were brought together in the middle, overcaſt at the end and along the edge, leaving a small opening in the center to fill and empty the resulting long, narrow bag. This overcaſting, by the way, is done with wool of different colors in exactly the manner used for overcaſting the sides of some oriental

rugs. Long tassels alternating with tuft tassels finish the ends. How many have we seen of these tassels bobbing merrily along below African donkeys who seem to be forever trudging cheerfully through the parched plains and along the dizzy mountain paths.

This bag has a very dark blue background, typical of Djebel Amours, with the diamonds in red outlined with white dots. The center of the diamond design forms an "x" in green; green also appears in small diamonds scattered in the spaces inside the large designs. This piece, old and worn and so tightly woven as to be practically water-proof shows a degree of sophistication in its elaborate end borders made of three principal stripes ornamented with triangles and diamonds, and the numerous narrow stripes in plain and fancy weave that serve as additional borders. A large band repeating the motives of the border crosses the piece in the middle. There the pattern being double that of the end border produces a design strangely reminiscent of those commonly used by Amerinds to decorate parfleches.

Along the sides the ambitious weaver has attempted to produce another border, that is, between the spaces left by the end borders and the center band, since no corner work is even suggested, but the results are halting.

We obtained another very interesting piece which we have reason to believe comes from the Riff highlands. It is too heavy for a blanket, too pliable for a rug, and was perhaps used as a tent partition or bed covering. It is about eight feet by five. Only one-half of it is striped, and the width of the stripes increase from the center to the end. While it is smoothly woven in the ground, the stripes carry the long ends of the design yarns at the back, a thing occasionally seen in Berber rugs where the thickness varies according to the design, and reminiscent of certain ancient Coptic textiles. This piece is in a beautiful, very dark brownish red, the narrow stripes are plain in red, green, yellow and very dark blue; then appear, as the stripes widen, chevrons, triangles and diamonds in red and yellow.

PLATE 36 *Courtesy of Gt. Gl. de l'Algérie*

A modern copy of an old M'zab blanket, made in the White Sisters' mission at Laghouat

The M'zabites who live in a desolate district of the Sahara and manage to eke a scanty living from their parched oases by trade, have always woven beautiful textiles. Of late years they have, unfortunately, taken to aniline dyes, increasing the range and the brilliancy of their palette though not its lasting qualities; but they have retained the ancestral designs. In the subdued light of the temperate zone their textiles seem almost unbearably gaudy and disturbing, yet how they sing in the shadowless desert and under the white arcades of M'zabite houses.

The texture of their rugs and blankets is exceedingly close and solid; the woof, of white wool, is hard twisted though rarely as fine as that of Kabyle work, the designs of stripes recut into the usual triangles and diamonds which glow like jewels give a very intricate appearance.

No corner work is usually attempted, but there are borders at the ends, and at the sides; these borders are bold in design and show great technical skill. The selvage is usually re-inforced making pieces that can stand the hardest wear, and the fringe is often knotted. (Plates 36-37)

The barbaric brilliancy of these textiles is hard to express in words; there is a battling spirit in them like a blare of trumpets. Do they furnish an outlet for the sternly repressed souls of the weavers, those women who are never allowed to set foot outside of their stony desert settlements, even when their husbands must go afield in search of a living? Perhaps the close packed, vibrant stitches enclose their passionate longings, their inchoate dreams. It is strange indeed that these singing tapestries should be tolerated of all peoples, by the M'zabites, the puritans of puritans, who consider smoking a deadly sin, who abstain not merely from wine but from coffee and tea, who are not allowed to wear either gold or sumptuous garments, who are supposed to abhor not only luxury but the very desire and thought of luxury and who are forbidden celibacy as well as gambling.

The *dokhalis,* sometimes called Tuareg blankets, although they are not made by the Tuaregs, are woven in the interior of the Sahara, especially near Timimoun and in the Touat. They are very light weight, very long blankets, measuring from fifteen to twenty five feet in length and about five and one-half feet in width.

The ground is white in soft wool with creamy broad stripes, the color of sweet camel's milk, to use the native term. In a typical one the center carries a very broad band of dark red with narrow borders of orange and dark green. Short stripes of orange and green run transversely from the edge for a short distance, and the sides are decorated with small designs of triangles in green, white, red and orange.

On the broad cream bands are designs made in slender short lines of red and green to simulate the shape of diamonds; these designs are separated by groups of three very short slender lines, these last the writer has been told symbolize the scanty, wiry vegetation of the desert. Often in the *dokhalis* some stripes or designs are made of cotton. In contrast to other Berber textiles where the designs are close packed and vigorous, the *dokhalis* show only a few timid motives widely scattered and always made of slender, fragile lines; they are more curious than artistic, decidedly primitive and the impression they give is that of the desert's immense, empty, barren spaces.

In many districts of North Africa one finds mixed weaves, such as the mats of the Beni-Snous; they are made of a vegetable fiber such as palm or alfa, and the designs, diamonds, triangles, crosses, combs, etc. are woven in wool on a horizontal loom. Near Constantine they make mats of reed, and reed and wool.

In all these typical Berber textiles the vocabulary of elements of decoration remains limited to geometrical combinations, but in spite of this the results show a surprisingly rich variety. These simple elements are found also in the knotted rugs woven in the recesses of the stern African mountains. The same patterns and the same tonalities used in the blankets of a certain district appear to

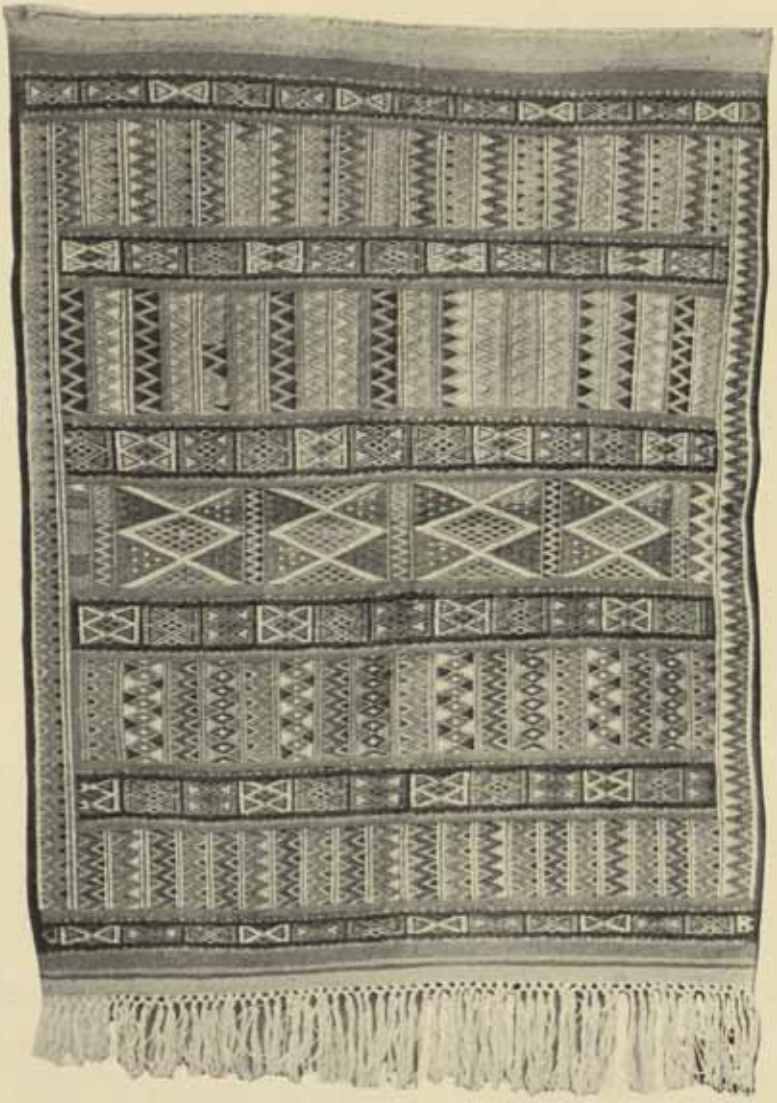


PLATE 37 *In Jacobson Collection*

Modern M'zab rug

characterize also the rugs of that district. But while men would scorn the weaving of common textiles, the making of a rug is usually directed by a *reggam*. This professional male weaver is regarded with considerable awe because of his ability at laying a complicated arrangement of designs and at adapting his designs to the making of corners, all of this without the aid of charts or patterns.

The making of a rug is a joyous undertaking on which neither effort nor time are spared. It is often, in fact, the occasion for a *touïzab* or weaving bee, when the neighborhood women share in the work which lasts several weeks, and which fills the winter days with a sociable activity. The wool having been sheared in the spring, had to be washed, carded, spun and dyed, and this took most of the summer. Now the upright loom is brought to the center of the house and the warp of white wool is stretched between the rollers.

The *reggam* works the designs himself, leaving to the women the task of filling in the resultant spaces under his direction. Slowly the work proceeds, the firm, thick, velvety fabric is built little by little. To celebrate the completion of the rug a *diffa* is held and presents are distributed to the *reggam* and to the volunteer workers, while plans are being made for another *touïzab* at some other neighbor's house.

While the products of the High Atlas are still imperfectly known, it would seem that the most interesting, the most decorative of true Berber rugs come from that district and are made by the Glaouas; in these rugs black and orange predominate, the nap is very thick, the designs are bold and severe.

The Sous also make some interesting rugs, and the Middle Atlas produces rugs reminiscent in general of those of the Djebel Amour, but apparently with three distinct zones where the color scales are different: natural tints of black, white and fawn are used almost exclusively in the north, in the *oued* Guigou district; in the center the Zaïans prefer red tones, and in the southwest among the

Beni-Mellal many colors, but preferably warm tints, abound. The heavy thick rugs of the Zaïans show this peculiarity that the nap is of different thicknesses, the red wool being left very long while some discreet designs are worked in shorter wool in black, white, blue, green and orange. The designs are typically Berber, even the borders are made up of geometrical motives.

The Djebel Amour rugs are beautiful and very solidly woven. The rugs made in the Plateaux district extending between Constantine and Sétif, some of which are called Guergour rugs, are often comparable to the Caucasian rugs which they resemble in boldness of design, virile sense of color and arrangement of borders.

In the Souf and the Zibans they also make rugs with Berber characteristics, but in many districts nearer the high roads alien influences are felt. The Rabat is a product of Andalusian type, the Kairouan is affected by the East, etc.

The writer has seen many rugs, interesting, original and well worth a searching study, which she was told came from this or that district; but for lack of time and because of the difficulties of travel she was unable to check up on these rugs as well as on other subjects. She hopes that another journey to Africa will enable her to complete this study.

The cream white *burnous,* which is almost a uniform for the men of North Africa, is very tightly and solidly woven and is usually an article of domestic manufacture. Several men showed with pride for the skill of their wives the delicate embroidery-like designs woven in the hood. These stripes of diamonds, triangles, chevrons, etc, are made with cotton thread. Also remarkable are the lace-like triangles which join the two sides of the neck to close the *burnous;* they are not woven but made with the needle.

The *haik* or city woman's outdoor garment; cloak, hood and veil in one, is a strip of cloth about twelve feet in length and forty to fifty inches in width. It is also woven of white wool; but in this case the wool is very finely though not tightly spun, and the

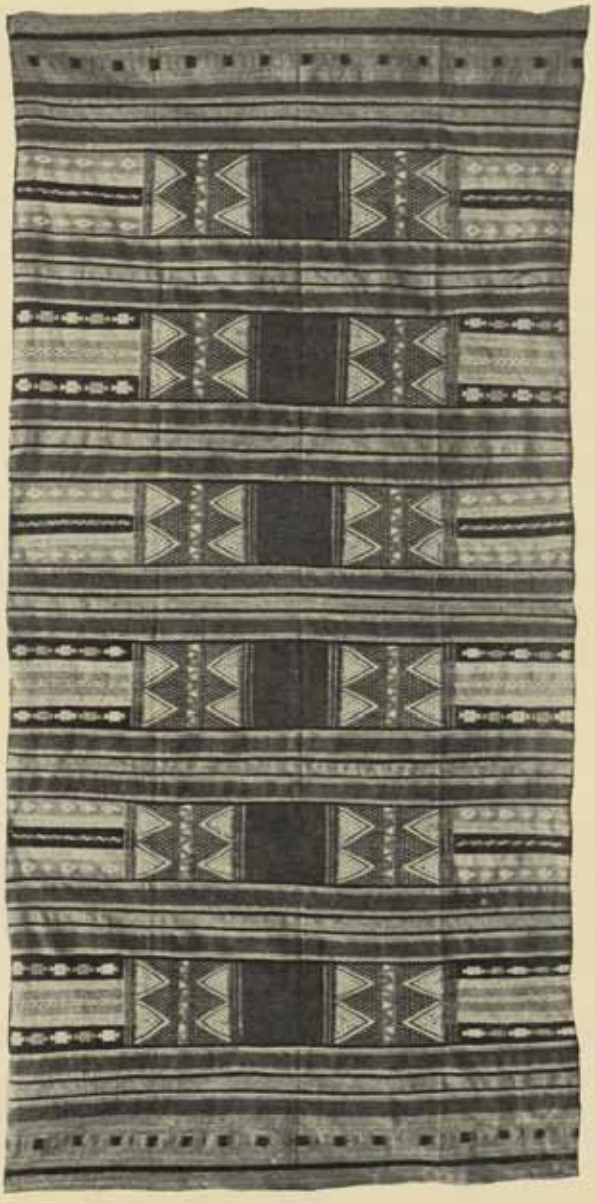


PLATE 38 *Courtesy of Gt. Gl. de l'Algérie*

A modern copy of an old Saharan type of weaving

weave is very open and transparent; the resultant texture is exquisite and possesses draping qualities such as are never found in woolens of the civilized world, seldom even in silks. The more elaborate *haiks* are striped with white silk. Of a similar texture are the *ghandourahs* of wealthy men; some *ghandourahs* are made entirely of silk; the beauty of this unweighted silk is a revelation. *Burnouses, haiks, ghandourahs* remain beautiful and soft in texture after repeated washings.

In Morocco the *burnous* is often replaced by the *djellabah* (Plate 5), a sort of hybrid garment having the sleeves of the *ghandourah* and the hood of the *burnous*. White when worn by the Moroccan aristocracy, the *djellabah* is, in the country districts, striped in natural colors of gray or brown. The Chleus of the Atlas wear a black *burnous,* the sole decoration of which is a round or oval spot of red in the middle back. This "eye" is supposed to put to rout evil spirits and even to discourage a stray bullet or a dagger thrust.

OTHER CRAFTS

PLATE 39 *Courtesy of Gt. Gl. de l'Algérie*

Modern embroideries showing at left the type made in Salé (Morocco) where a stitch reminiscent of Scandinavian work is used, at right the use of Berber motives

X

OTHER CRAFTS

EMBROIDERY seems to have flourished almoſt only in the larger centers where in the leisure of the harem exquisite things of cobwebby daintiness and sumptuous heavy pieces were produced during the long warm days.

The objects embroidered by the women were their own garments and undergarments as well as those of children and of men, cushion tops, napkins, spread-like covers for divans, curtains for windows and doors, *haitis* or long bands of a rich material, silk or velvet, heavily embroidered in gold, silver and silk, which are faſtened to the walls on holidays. The objects which seemed to receive the moſt lavish adornment were the long sashes, head herchiefs and the henna towels used to bind the hair during the long period of time necessary for the hennaing process. Tinting with henna the hair, the finger and toe tips and the inner palm of the hand is something of a ritual, always required as a preparation for a holiday. The women look forward eagerly to meeting one another at the *hamman* where, during the time of drying, they gossip, drink mint flavored tea, munch sweets and show off their pretty things; this will help to underſtand why the henna towels are so elaborate.

These embroideries are made with colored and with metallic threads on materials of various textures from heavy silks and velvets to thin open weave muslins.

Even the oldeſt pieces of embroidery known date from no earlier than the eighteenth century, so that it is impossible to form an idea of what this art was in the paſt.

The ſtitches show a moſt heterogeneous combination of influences. Is it rash to attribute this to the fact that the harem inmates were often captives brought from all parts of the world who introduced the ſtitches used in their near or diſtant homelands? Certain North African embroideries could pass for those made in the Balkans, some ſtitches typical of Scandinavian work are even encountered. However, the moſt common are the *zelilidj* sometimes called Turkish ſtitch which is reminiscent of hemſtitching, the *meterba* a very close and grainy ſtitch, and the *maalka* a diagonal ſtitch giving a fine silky finish; this laſt may possibly be indigenous.

As the ſtitches show a variety of apparent origins, so the designs exhibit outside influences, in Algiers, Turkish; in Tunis, Persian and perhaps Italian, but in Morocco the characteriſtics of the other arts are discernible in the embroideries also. (Plate 39)

The gold and silver embroideries lavishly used on ceremonial cloaks, wedding jackets, saddles, purses, etc. are of a purely Turkish and Persian character; they are almoſt invariably executed by men.

Another type of embroidery usually made by women in the Berber tradition is the leather work which has reached an intereſting ſtage among the Tuaregs and in Morocco. It seems to be, with the making of saddles and shields, practically the only form of art in exiſtence among the Tuaregs, and it is applied especially to the making of pillows and bags, shoes and horse trappings.

In this work the leather is embroidered by means of very narrow ſtrips of soft leather as fine as thin paper used in lieu of thread; this form of decoration is usually combined with painting, embossing and etching of the leather. The colors are few: red, black, white, green and natural fawn. The designs are squares, diamonds, triangles, chevrons, sometimes attached to form hour glass effects, lines, dots and crosses which often show this peculiarity that their

PLATE 40 *Courtesy of Gt. Gl. de l'Algérie*

A Tuareg leather cushion from the In Salah district

PLATE 41 *Courtesy of Gt. Gl. de l'Algérie*

A Tuareg leather cushion from the Ouled-Djellal

ends are pointed. It would appear that the vocabulary of elements in Tuareg decoration is, if anything, more limited than among other Berbers, that the diamond is a little less conspicuous, the square and the cross more so.

Sometimes the designs are cut with a sharp knife and the decorative value of the contraſt between the velvety texture of the cut leather and the shiny surface of neighboring planes is consciously made use of. Often etched designs are outlined with the narrow ſtrips in contraſting colors. Long fringes of these narrow ſtrips usually painted in several colors further decorate the cushions and the bags.

The cushions (Plates 40-41) are round, square, but more often very long with rounded ends and a narrower center. They are made, like moſt of the bags, of two flat pieces of leather connected by a narrow band of leather; an opening is left to introduce dry desert grasses with which they are ſtuffed. This band is so generally green, and of a bright green that is entirely out of harmony with the soft vegetable tints used in the dying and painting of the piece itself, that one wonders whether some magic or religious significance is not attached to this green. The band is usually of coarse leather with the hair inside in contraſt to the soft texture of the top and bottom of pillows and bags.

The bags, of varying size, are used moſtly to carry the voyaging Tuareg's beſt clothes, which he is particular to don before entering a camp as visitor. Also of leather painted and decorated are the sword and dagger scabbards of the Tuaregs and the Chleus; these objects are further enriched by the use of embossed and perforated brass trimmings.

The Tuaregs have carried the making of camels' saddles to such a degree of perfection that they have now the monopoly of making all saddles used by the French desert police.

They build a very light framework of wood, patiently conſtructing it to prevent the leaſt friction, for the skin of the *mehari* is unbelievably tender and delicate. On this they ſtretch wet

leather which the drying process fits without a bulge. The finished saddle is very small and extraordinarily light in weight although durable.

The narrow, high cantle is matched by a very high pommel in the form of a cross. This traditional pommel makes it difficult to climb on and off the *tarikh*. The Tuaregs and other *mehari* riders usually cross their legs so that their feet rest on the shoulders of their mount. They are barefooted or wear only soft soled *babushes;* even Europeans learn to do without shoes which would injure the *mehari's* skin. They guide the animal by a slight pressure of their heels. In this position the pommel, especially the arms of the cross-like ends, stand dangerously in the way, yet the Tuaregs always build their saddles in like manner, and the origin of this feature has never been satisfactorily explained.

The leather of the saddle is usually etched and painted; perforated brass ornaments through which patches of red or green leather show, are commonly used also. The reins, the straps, the *egurei* or long bag attached to the saddle at the right, in which the rider puts his sword and javelins, also the braided leather collar which is fastened to the camel's neck and from which usually hangs an amulet box, are decorated with tassels, fringes and small bell-like brass pendants which ring at the slightest movement. These things seem to afford great pride and pleasure to the *mehari.* For the haughty speed camel is vain and full of appreciation of his trappings; even his lowly cousin, the brown *djemel,* shows this almost human trait. Nothing is more amusing than to watch him prance delightedly when he is clean and freshly equipped, or to see how dejectedly he slinks when, on returning from a journey into the desert, his hump is flabby, and he is as conscious as a dandy with a two weeks old beard that he needs a shave and a rub.

The *rahala* or horse saddle is as interesting and more sumptuous than the *tarikh.* Throughout North Africa the saddle is a master-piece of workmanship and an object of pride on which no money

PLATE 42 *In University of Oklahoma Collection*

Leather embroidered bag. This piece is very old and the center has been repaired by adding a square patch of bright green leather embroidered with a rosette design in purple silk, entirely out of keeping with the mellow russet, fawn and pale green of the bag proper

is spared. It often represents all the wealth of its owner. It is embroidered with silk and with gold and silver thread or braid, it is sometimes incrusted with velvet and adorned with precious or semi-precious stones. It is a fitting garment for the aristocratic, sensitive horse beloved of his master.

While Algeria and Tunisia show in their saddle works a purely Oriental, somewhat overdecorated, type where the arabesques and floral motives abound, Morocco holds to a more sober and sturdy if less elegant saddle where the geometrical motives of decoration are often truly Berber.

The skill in tanning and dying leather which has built up a world wide reputation for Morocco is almost equally shared by dwellers in other districts of North Africa. The famous *filali* is kid or lamb skin, soft as a glove, pliable yet resistant, dyed a brilliant but mellow red with the juice of the tamarisk and of native berries; the *seminto* or green leather is equally beautiful.

With these leathers are manufactured high boots for house wear, over which are slipped low *babushes* when on the street, belts, purses, cushion tops, *haitis,* book covers, etc. With heavy leather they make bags, cartridge holders and chests studded with nails, gilded, embossed or etched.

The Tuaregs make a peculiar shield called *arer* (Plate 7). It is built with a whole antelope or gazelle's skin and is therefore very large; instead of being round or oval it is elongated, wider at the base than at the top, and its shape shows the outline of the skin where the head and the limbs are merely cut off. The edges are carefully rolled in order to strengthen the shield and to deflect outwards the point of an attacker's sword or javelin; this edge is painted blue, while the shield is natural fawn color. This shield is hardened in the tanning process.

The never varying decoration consists of a peculiar kind of St. Andrew's cross with projections, etched lightly on the upper part of the shield. This is supposed to possess magical qualities and

it has been generally believed by Europeans to represent some degenerate version of the Byzantine or Greek cross. The Tuaregs, however, call it *agabl* which means buſtard in *tamashek*.

Another element of decoration of the Tuareg shield, but one which is not so rigidly traditional is made of two or three pieces of red leather appliquéd on the shield at the point where the handle is faſtened on the inside. On these red pieces are ornaments of brass or iron, perforated, hammered or chiseled, which conceal the head of the nails used to faſten this handle.

The Tuareg takes the greateſt pride in his shield, and wears it yet in spite of the fact that its serviceability is now almoſt nil, and in spite of its cumbersomeness and weight. He uses it not only as a weapon, but also as a wind and sand break when the dreaded sirocco blows, by propping it againſt his camel's saddle.

He takes great care of it, protecting it especially againſt the rain which is apt to shrink the ends so that they cannot be ſtraightened afterwards. Some Tuaregs even, cover their shields when not in actual use with a slip made of cotton cloth.

The Tuaregs also make wooden peſtles and mortars (Plate 43), and cups, decorated in simple designs painted in soft reds and greens, and ingenious water containers and butter jars made of camel bladders also decorated. For these they contrive a very tight cap (Plate 44).

Among certain Berber tribes one finds baskets made of grasses and of palmetto fibers; some of these baskets are intereſting, though seldom in a class with Amerindian basket work, a very peculiar thing when one remembers how superior in technique and design their textiles are to the Amerind's. Perhaps the fineſt of these baskets are made by the Mesfiouas who live in the diſtrict to the southeaſt of Marrakesh; with palm fiber the Mesfiouas make wide, shallow baskets with very high conical covers, used to ſtore bread and cakes. The baskets are usually made by men as are the huge hats of braided palmetto and diss which are worn in summer over the hood of the *burnous*.

PLATE 43 *Courtesy of Gt. Gl. de l'Algérie*

Tuareg mortars and pestle from the In Salah district. The typical Tuareg cross is seen here

Such is Berber art. But this is, after all, only a sketch; the subject is worthy of a more complete study which has been impossible until now and which is still difficult because of the inaccessibility of certain regions.

As it is, the unity of this art and its remarkable vitality are apparent; in spite of its primitiveness and its elemental boldness it is capable of producing distinctly esthetic results.

Renan asserted that the Arabs and other Semitic peoples drew their concept of the Infinite from the illimitable and ever changing horizons of the desert. The circle, the ellipse, so beloved of Orientals symbolize the eternal cycle of nature, the mystic oneness of birth and death; their art revolves around the circle, their lines are always sinuous.

But the Berbers are hard headed, utilitarian people, full of contempt for mysticism and for vain speculations; they prefer the straight line, the sharp angle, the martial diamond. Although they have no literature, no longer even a written language, although their history is lost in legends, although they keep close lips, they reveal their soul unwittingly in their art.

As we traveled through their paradoxical land full of violent contrasts in structure, in climate, in soil, as we saw their textiles full of uncompromising linear designs and bold color harmonies, their strange jewels, their potteries, as we heard their songs at once defiant and plaintive, we sensed the paradoxical race, hard, vindictive, avaricious, fanatical, but proud, fearless, industrious, sensitive to the poetry of nature and athirst for beauty.

SYMBOLISM

PLATE 44 *In University of Oklahoma Collection*

Tuareg butter jug, made of camel bladder. It has two compartments; the upper one, very small, is presumably used to hold salt. The closing is hermetic

XI

SYMBOLISM

ⵜⴰⵙⵙⴰⵏⵜ ⵏ ⵜⵣⵔⴼⵜ ⵏ ⵜⵎⵣⵡⴰⵔⵓ ⵏ ⵜⵎⵣⵡⴰⵔⵓ ⵏ ⵜⵎⵣⵡⴰⵔⵓ

THE elements of Berber decoration include single and parallel straight or curved lines, diagonal lines giving the effect of a rope, diagonal lines crossing to form diamonds, chevrons, triangles, zig-zags, dots arranged in straight or diagonal lines, dots in combination with lines, timid circles, etc.

It is difficult to know what is the meaning of many of the designs used. As a rule the Berbers disclaim that these designs possess magical value or pretend ignorance; but whenever this subject is broached they are so embarrassed and appear so uncomfortable as to convince one that they know much which they prefer to keep from non-believers.

It is very likely that the meaning of the patterns has undergone many changes through the centuries. The almost exclusive use of certain motives in certain arts may be due only to the nature of the medium and to the technique employed, and there is a certain danger that one might overstress what may be a point of no great importance. However, the recurrence of certain numbers and certain motives, the care with which these motives are used show that something more than fancy or esthetic consideration is involved.

The author mentioned earlier the magic potency of the numbers three, five and seven, and of devices simulating an eye. A dot in the center of a pattern is often called an eye. So are designs 12, 19, 32 and even 34 supposed to represent eyes on the alert against

lurking evil. Checkers and systems of diamonds like those in 23 and 24, while sometimes called bee hives, are also known as eyes; they are particularly noticeable in the brides' jars given with wishes for good luck.

In 21 the central design represents, the writer was told, a pair of spectacles and apparently has a similar magic value. Zig-zags like 7 also represent multitudinous eyes; this design is often painted near the hand of Fathma on the outside walls and the doors of houses. 19 may be called a mirror and seems to share in the magic value of eyes, because mirrors "see everything."

The meandering lines (2) may represent the sand dunes of the desert, The writer was once told that they symbolize a snake; but the serpent cult, so persistent in antiquity, does not seem to have existed in Barbary; one of the rare examples of the use of this motive in Berber decoration is incised on a door at Taourirt Amokrane.

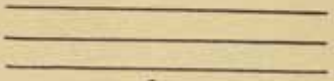
Triangular motives as 22, 23, 24, are often called *bezimas*. In the *bezima* proper we see plainly the connection with the ancient Punic sign of the goddess Tanit (34-35). The symbol of Tanit is also recognizable in designs 17 and 18. Some Berbers say that this motive represents a man at prayer with his arms lifted, others call it a sacred stone.

The central part of 31 and 5 symbolize the nails of the hand; this also seems to be considered effective against the evil eye.

A large diamond containing other diamonds is variously said to represent a house and its inhabitants or the *djemaa,* that is the municipal council of the Berber village.

Two diamonds connected by their points may be a pair of spectacles or a lizard. A diamond crossed by a straight line which protrudes, and sometimes accompanied by dots, is said to symbolize the grasshopper. The design 33 represents a fly; an "x" also means a fly. Number 11 and other similar devices represent the claws of the falcon. Number 14 is called a *babush.*

In 16 we see a design of merlons representing a fortified wall or building. A similar design of single or denticulated merlons is



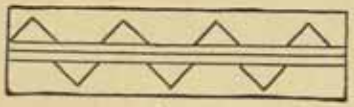
1

2

3

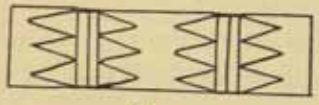
4

5



6

7



8

9

10

11

12

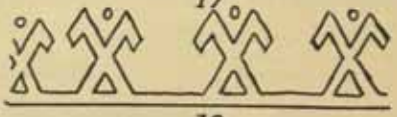
13

14

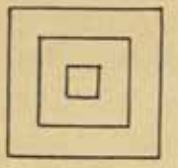
15

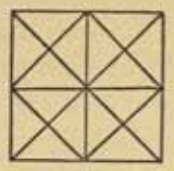
16

17



18


19


20

21

22

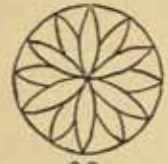
23

24

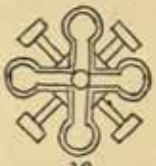
25

26

27


28

29


30

31

32

33

34

35

36

used in horizontal ſtripes to decorate the *makhsen* tents in Morocco, that is the tents of the sultan and his court. These *makhsen* tents are made of white cloth, they are conical inſtead of being low and spreading like the ordinary nomads' tents. The merlon designs are supposed to endow the tents with the attributes of a fortress. At the center the sultan's tent is topped by a ball-like ornament in token of his authority.

The combs with which the weaver packs her woof to make a solid weaving are often represented in textiles, see 8.

Number 30, a cross, is often called a hand, being a synthetized representation of the hand; it shows the use of the number five in decoration. The circular motives are found moſt generally in carving and they are used on doors, lintels, boxes and cheſts.

Number 21 is called the *ghandourah*. Number 36 is the typical denticulated Djebel Amour diamond.

GLOSSARY

Abd-er-Rahman. In the Moslem world many men had this name. Here it refers to a Berber king of the Ibadite kingdom of Tiaret. (Eighth century).

Abelessa. A point south of the Ahaggar Mountains where the tomb of Tin-Hinan is located.

Abu-Hassan mosque of, in Tlemcen. Famed for the beauty of its mihrab.

Adjiba (El). A village of Kabylie.

agadir. This is the Berber equivalent of the Arab *ksar* which means fortress.

agabl. The traditional design with which the Tuareg shield is decorated.

Aglabides or *Aghlabides.* A dynasty founded by Ibrahim ben-El-Aghlab, governor of Ifrikiya who rebelled against the Khalif Haroun-er-Rashid; the Aglabides ruled from 800 to 910 A. D.

Ahaggar or *Hoggar.* A massif of volcanic mountains situated in the center of the Sahara, its highest peak is Mount Ileaman. (9425 feet).

Ait el Arba or *Ait el Arbaa.* A village of the Beni Yenni in Grande Kabylie, near Fort National.

akerkral. Bracelet or anklet.

akoufi. A large jar, often square in shape, made by the Berbers to store grain, figs, etc.; it is uncooked and made of clay mixed with chopped straw.

alfa. Gramineous plant of northern Africa used to make paper, shoes, mats, etc.

Almohades. A Berber tribe from the High Atlas; their original capital was at Tinmal. They were organized as a religious brotherhood by their Mahdi, Ibn-Tumert, who is buried in the Tinmal mosque. Later they followed Abd-el-Moumin and conquered the Maghreb and Andalusia; they were in power from 1130 to 1269.

Almoravides. A Berber dynasty who belonged to the confederation of the Senhadjah, or men of the veil, of which the Tuaregs are members. The Almoravides came from the district to the South of Morocco. They had previously extended their sway over the Black country of lower Senegal. Led by Ibn-Tashfin they crossed the Atlas and founded Marrakesh; later they conquered Maghreb and Andalusia, 1060-1147.

anaïa: protection. By a custom in existence among the Kabyles and some other Berbers, a person seeking protection from another may ask a friend or neighbor for *anaïa.* The neighbor or the friend is then in duty bound to protect the seeker, and if necessary to fight for him or for her.

In order that the protection be effective the seeker must not go out of his protector's house without a visible symbol of the *anaïa,* such as his protector's dog, cane or other

known possession. While the *anaïa* applies to all people, it is moſt commonly used by a woman who fears her husband or who wiſhes to divorce him without being maltreated.

The irate husband usually gets even by declaring the rebellious wife *thamaouok*, that is, withdrawn from circulation. And the woman cannot marry again unless her new suitor pays the former husband a certain sum of money.

arer. Tuareg shield.

Aurès. A massif of the Saharan Atlas. It possesses the higheſt mountain in Algeria, the Kef-Mahmel (7475 feet). It was one of the ſtrongholds of the Berbers in their ſtruggle againſt the Arabs, and the home of the Kahena.

Averroes (in Arabic Ibn Rochd). Born in Cordova in 1126, died in 1198, was an Arab physician and philosopher of great renown. He was so liberal in his views that he was once tried for infidelity and condemned to exile. He has left several treatises on philosophy, on Koranic law and on medicine.

Bab-el-Mansur. Bab means gate. Bab-el-Mansur-el-Aleuj means the gate of Mansur the renegade. It was built by an architect of this name, between 1725 and 1732, for Moulay-Ismael, sultan of Morocco who made Meknes his capital.

babush. A slipper.

Badi (El) or El Bedi. A ruined palace in Marrakesh; it was built by Ahmed El-Mansur nicknamed El-Dhehebi (the Golden). This Saadian prince wanted to emulate the Khalifs of Bagdad. He is remembered as a great ſtatesman who gave Morocco an era of great prosperity, and as a warrior who was victorious againſt the Spaniards.

Batna. A town situated north of the Aurès on the High Plateaux, not far from the ruins of the Roman city of Thamugadi (Timgad).

Beni Aissi. A Berber tribe of Grande Kabylie, famous for their pottery.

Beni Hammad. A Berber dynaſty who eſtablished a kingdom in Ifrikiya with their capital at the Kalaa of the Beni Hammad, later at Bougie; they ruled from the Ninth to the Twelfth century.

Beni Hillal. With the Beni Soleim, another nomadic tribe of Arabia, the Beni Hillal had been deported to upper Egypt because they made the roads unsafe, pillaging caravans and making forays in the cities. When, in the Eleventh century, the Maghreb and Ifrikiya rebelled againſt the rule of the Khalifs, El Moſtancir sent for the chiefs of the Beni Hillal and the Beni Soleim and gave them the whole of the rebel country. The Beni Hillal devaſtated North Africa.

Beni Mellal. A Berber tribe of the Middle Atlas.

Beni M'tir. The only Berber tribe known who make small ſtatuettes.

Beni-Snous or Snoussi. A Berber tribe of Weſtern Algeria.

Beni-Yenni. A Berber tribe of Grande Kabylie who make intereſting jewelry.

bezima. A Berber safety pin.

bordj. A square baſtion defending the angles of a fortified house, also the fortified house itself.

Bou Anania or *Bou Inania*, a *medersa*, or Moslem university, of Fez, possessing a large mosque and a beautiful minaret. It is especially famous for its ancient clock with thirteen bronze hammers, and for its central court where a canal of running water precedes the hall of prayer.

Bulla-Reggia. A Roman city of North Africa.

burnous. A seamless hooded cloak worn by Arabs and Berbers; it is usually made of white wool.

cadi. A Moslem judge.

caïd. A tribal chief or an appointed native administrative officer of a district.

Chaouia. means shepherd. It is the name of a Berber tribe who inhabit the Aurès Mountains. Chaouia is also the name of a plain in western Morocco and of the semi-nomads who inhabit that plain.

Chleu. A Berber tribe of the Atlas and the Sous.

Cirta. The ancient capital of Numidia, now Constantine.

Constantine. A city built on a rock almost entirely surrounded by the ravine of the Rummel. It is situated in the High Plateaux and is extremely interesting.

dar. House, residence.

Dar-el-Bahr or Dar-el-Bahar. The house of the sea. Very little remains of this palace of the Kalaa of the Beni Hammad.

diffa. A banquet or ceremonial meal; it may be extremely elaborate or it may consist only of the two traditional dishes, the *mesboui,* or mutton roasted whole, and the *kouskous.*

diss. A desert grass.

Djebala. A mountainous district of Northern Morocco, near the Riff.

Djebel Amour. A chain of mountains in Southern Algeria near the Sahara. The Djebel Amour is famous for its picturesque landscapes, its beautiful women, and the rugs and other textiles woven there.

Djebel-el-Tarik. The rock of Tarik, now Gibraltar.

Djehad. The holy war against all non-believers. The masses of the Moslems say that the present is a time of truce only and that when Allah so decrees they shall be called again to resume the Djehad.

djellabah. A garment worn by the men of Morocco; it is hooded like the *burnous,* but it has also sleeves like the *ghandourah,* and is usually made of coarse wool.

djema. Mosque.

Djema el-Kebir. The great mosque.

djemaa. Meeting or council, also the place where the village council is held and, by extension, a large open square or market place. The Djemaa el-Fna, the meeting of the dead (a lively place in spite of its name) in Marrakesh is an immense and interesting market square.

djemel. The common camel.

djidar. Sepulchres of the early Christian era.

Djurdjura. A mountainous massif of the Mediterranean Atlas, situated in Algeria, east of Algiers. The Djurdjura separates the Grande Kabylie from the Petite Kabylie; its highest summit, the beautiful Lalla Khadidjah, reaches 7,370 feet.

dokhali. A very long and very light weight blanket made in the Sahara.

douar. A village of tents. The large nomadic groups split up into smaller units, each composed of a family and its relations. The members of each of these smaller units erect their tents together in a circle or douar, the center of which forms a corral for the stock.

Dougga. The ancient Thugga, a Roman city of North Africa.

Dra. The valley of the *oued* Dra south of the High Atlas.
Dra-el-Mizan. A village of Grande Kabylie.

El Adjiba. See Adjiba.
El Mansur. See Mansur.
egurei. Long bag fastened at the right of the Tuaregs' camel saddle to hold their sword and javelins.

Fatimides. A Moslem dynasty who ruled over Egypt, Ifrikiya and Maghreb in the Tenth and Eleventh centuries; they were descended from Mahomed's daughter, Fathma.
filali. Red leather.
flidj. From *feloudj*, narrow strips of cloth with which the nomads' tents are made; it usually takes eleven *flidjs* for an average size tent. They are made of wool and wool mixed with camel's hair.
fondouk. An inn, usually in connection with a market.
foutah. A towel or an apron.

ghandourah. A long, loose garment with sleeves, made of wool or cotton, and worn by Arab and Berber men under the *burnous*.
ghorfa. A communal store among the Matmatas of Southern Tunisia.
Glaoua. A Berber tribe of the High Atlas.
Goundafa. A Berber tribe of the High Atlas.
gourbi. A straw hut, usually round, used in winter by the semi-nomads in the eastern districts of North Africa; it is more primitive than the Moroccan *nouala.*
guelaa. A communal store in the Aurès.
Guergour. The district surrounding Constantine.
Guigou. A valley in the Middle Atlas.

haïk. A garment worn by the city women of North Africa when they go outdoors. It serves as cloak, headdress and veil.
haiti. A band of cloth (embroidered silk or velvet) or of leather (painted and embossed) which is fastened over the walls of reception rooms on holidays; it may be a permanent tile decoration.
hammam. Public bath; it serves as a women's club.
Hanefi. One of the four orthodox rites of Islam. It is the oldest and the most liberal and was founded by Abou Hanifa; it prevails in Turkey.
Hassan. This name is very common among Moslems. Here it refers to the Mahomedan general who vanquished the Kahena, and to the tower or minaret of the mosque of Abu Hassan in Rabat.

Ibadites or *Rostemides*, from Ibn Rostem, the founder of the dynasty who ruled them, were a group of dissenters from orthodox Islam. They founded Tiaret, their capital, in the Eighth century. In the Tenth century after military reverses they settled for a time at Sedrata near the present Ouargla. Defeated again they took refuge in the M'zab, their present home. They are now called M'zabites.
Ibn-Khaldoun was born in Tunis in or near the year 1332 in an Arab family who had been forced to emigrate from Seville by reverses of the Moslems in the peninsula.

After brilliant ſtudies he entered the ſervice of the Sultan of Tunis as ſecretary, but ſoon affiliated himſelf with the Merinides, a Berber dynaſty rival of the reigning Hafſides.

As envoy of the Merinides he viſited many Berber and Arab chieftains in Ifrikiya; he was a ſucceſsful diplomat, ſo well liked that he was adopted by the feared Arab tribe of the Daouadas, nomads among whom he lived for ſome time. His wiſdom and his influence with theſe people were ſo well known that throughout his life he was ſent to them as negotiator by different potentates.

For ten years he lived at court in Fez and took an active part in the political intrigues of the times in an effort to recoup his family's fortunes. This led him only to jail. He would probably have loſt his life but for a change of ruler which liberated him. It was during theſe two quiet jail years that he wrote the larger part of his maſterpiece, the *Prolegomenes* a ſort of political, hiſtorical, philoſophical eſſay, in which he records the reſult of his ponderings and his obſervations.

Once free, Ibn-Khaldoun went to Spain; he was appointed by the Sultan of Granada as ambaſſador to Peter the Cruel, and ſo pleaſed this Chriſtian monarch that he was offered ſervice at the Chriſtian court with reſtitution of his family's eſtates in Seville. In a few years, however, he went to Bougie, then the moſt brilliant court in North Africa, called by the friend with whom he had plotted and with whom he had been imprisoned. This friend now Emir of Bougie made him his vizir. The future looked bright, but no ſooner had Ibn-Khaldoun arrived in Bougie than the Emir was murdered, and he had to flee to his friends, the nomads, living among them for eight years and becoming one of their leaders. This moved the Emir of Biskra to ſuſpicion and to jealouſy; warned that his life was in imminent danger Ibn-Khaldoun left the Daouadas and ſought refuge in a ſmall fort in the neighborhood of Tiaret. There he lived in ſeclusion for four years, reſuming his work on the *Prolegomenes* and on a *Univerſal Hiſtory*. At the end of that time he returned to Tunis as hiſtorian to the reigning Sultan. He appears to have led a quieter life for ſeveral years ſhunning intrigue and writing his monumental *Hiſtory of the Berber Nations*.

As political trouble was brewing, he left the country, oſtenſibly to go on pilgrimage to Mecca. But he ſtopped in Cairo where he received a warm welcome, being named Cadi of the Maleki rite. His attempts to reform abuſes failed and, in fact, caused him the loſs of his poſt. So he went to Mecca, but on his return he was again appointed Cadi with another ſtormy tenure of office. It was written that he was to drink the cup of life to the very dregs. He had ſent for his family whom he had left in Ifrikiya; a ſhipwreck in which all periſhed and in which his valuables were alſo loſt, left him a lone and ſaddened old man.

In 1400, when Tamerlane was invading Syria, the Sultan of Cairo went to defend his territories taking with him Ibn-Khaldoun among other advisors. With ſome friends Ibn-Khaldoun happened to be in Damaſcus when the city was beſieged. As the ſituation was deſperate they eſcaped by ſliding down the ramparts with ropes. But they were captured and brought to the cruel Tartar chief. Even in this extremity Ibn-Khaldoun was able to charm Tamerlane who offered him a high poſt. Ibn-Khaldoun accepted but asked permiſſion to go back to Cairo in order to fetch his perſonal library. In this manner he was able to eſcape and to return to Cairo where he ended his days in 1406.

He is considered the greateſt Arab hiſtorian because he not only compiled hiſtorical facts, but sought to find and to explain the great laws at work behind hiſtorical events, because he recognized the interrelations of hiſtory, politics and economics with climatic and ethnological causes. He was an original and a daring thinker.

Ifrikiya. Name given by the Arabs to what is now Tunisia and approximately half of Algeria. Some say that it means land of wheat; according to others it comes from Ifrikos, a legendary Arab hero.

igbem. A communal ſtore in the Moroccan Atlas.

Juba II. King of Mauritania whose capital was Caesarea (now Cherchell). He was known for his erudition.

Kabylie. From Kebail (pl. Kebila) an Arab term which means sedentary people. It is applied to several mountainous diſtricts of North Africa, but more specifically to the country surrounding the Djurdjura; north of these mountains is the Grande Kabylie, south and southeaſt, the Petite Kabylie.

Kahena—the prieſtess, the witch. This Berber heroine is known only by this name or by that of Dahiah, the queen. She was the ruler of the Djoraouahs, a Berber tribe of the Aurès who seem to have accepted the Judaic creed. Practically nothing is known of her earlier years. After the fall of Koceila in battle she appears as the leader of his forces and we see other Berber tribes joining her own and accepting her as their supreme chief. This is enough to give an idea of the ſtrength of her personality and of her cleverness when one knows how utterly unable of concerted action the Berbers are. For some time the Kahena fought a winning war. Urging her people to sink all their petty animosities, to make a great and continued effort, she succeeded in firing them with such a zeal that they consented to raze and burn their towns and cut their palm and olive gardens. In this way she pushed the army of Hassan back from the Aurès to the eaſtern shore of Ifrikiya. But she was attacked by a fresh horde of invaders and she took refuge in the immense Roman amphitheater of El Djem (Thysdrus) where she held out for five or six years. Betrayed by Khaled, a young Arab whom she had once taken prisoner and whose life she had spared, she was murdered. Her death, about 700 A. D. gave the Arabs undisputed supremacy in North Africa.

Kalaa of the Beni Hammas also called Qal'a. The capital of a Berber kingdom that flourished in the Tenth and Eleventh centuries. It is situated in the Hodna mountains near Bordj bou-Arreridj. It was deſtroyed by the Arabs.

kanoun. Literally hearth. It means also a cuſtom having the ſtatus of law among Berbers.

Karawiyn. A mosque and *medersa* in Fez. It was built in 859 by a woman native of Kairouan and enlarged and embellished in 956 and again in 1135. It is one of the moſt renowned Moslem universities.

kasbah. A citadel or fortress.

Khour-er-Roumia (the tomb of the Chriſtian woman). The mausoleum of Juba II and Cleopatra Selene, near Tipaza.

Khaled ben-Yezid. A bodyguard of the Arab general, Hassan, was one of a group of eighty prisoners taken by the Kahena. The others were released without ransom by the chivalrous woman. Whether it was really because, as she said, Khaled, young and

handsome, reminded her of her sons, or because she sought to prepare some useful friendship in case of adversity, the Kahena adopted Khaled as her son by the Berber cuſtom of the public simulacre of giving him suck.

It is believed that when she saw all reſiſtance was in vain she sent Khaled back to Hassan with her sons whom she had prepared for submission. According to the Berber legends Khaled betrayed her and caused her to be murdered, sending her head to the Khalif Abd-el-Melek, although according to another version her head was thrown into a well.

Khamsa fila-e-nek. Five in thine eyes; a cabaliſtic formula againſt the evil eye.

khount. The native Berber women's dress.

Koceila. King of the Aourebas, a Berber tribe of the Aurès, he defeated Sidi Okba near Biskra.

koursi. A holder for the Koran.

kouskous. A preparation of hard wheat, ground, then ſteamed with vegetables, oil, chick peas, and on holidays with meat.

ksar. A fortified residence in the Moroccan Atlas.

Ksar-el-Manar (the donjon of the beacon). A ſtronghold of the Kalaa of the Beni Hammad.

kubba or *marabout.* A small ſtructure erected over the grave of a *marabout* or saint.

kumia. A Moroccan dagger.

Kutubiya. The minaret of the Kutubiya mosque in Marrakesh.

maalka. An embroidery ſtitch.

Maghreb. The afternoon or the weſt. It includes Morocco and the weſtern half of Algeria.

Maghreb el-Aksa. The farther weſt, Morocco.

makhsen. Pertaining to the authority of the sultan of Morocco.

maksura. A space reserved in a mosque for the sultan or sheik.

Malaki or *Maleki.* One of the four orthodox rites of Islam, founded by Abu Abdallah Malik. It prevails in North Africa; it is fundamentaliſt in its ſtrictness.

Mansur. Means victorious; El Mansur ben Nasser was a prince of the Beni Hammad.

Mansurah. Many towns bear this name; here the reference is to a city erected outside of Tlemcen by the Merinides who were besieging the Abd el-Wadides in Tlemcen.

marabout. A holy man; it comes from *m'rabat,* inhabitant of a *ribat.* The *ribats* were fortified oratories on the frontiers of the Islamic empire, defended by semi-military semi-religious brotherhoods.

Massinissa. Several Numidian chiefs were known by this name; the moſt famous was an ally of Scipio againſt Hasdrubal and Carthage. As a result of the Roman's victory he became king of Cirta. He remained a bitter enemy of Carthage till his death at ninety.

Matmata. A Berber tribe of Southern Tunisia.

medersa. A Moslem university.

Medrasen. A Numidian mausoleum situated between Conſtantine and Batna.

mehari. The white thoroughbred speed camel.

Mehdia. Capital of the Fatimide dynaſty in Ifrikiya in the Tenth century.

Merinides or *Beni Merin.* Berbers of Saharan origin, they firſt conquered Marrakesh, and Maghreb, then a large part of Ifrikiya. They went to Spain to help the Sultans of Granada againſt the Chriſtians in the Thirteenth century.

Mesfioua. A Berber tribe of Southern Morocco.

mesbouar. Citadel and residence of a chief.
meterba. An embroidery ſtitch.
mihrab. A niche in a mosque which indicates the direction of Mecca.
m'kabria. A tomb ſtone.
Moſtancir (El). Fifth Fatimide Khalif of Egypt, born in Cairo in 1029, died in 1094. To punish the Berber populations who had rebelled againſt his authority he turned loose upon their territories the Beni Hillal and the Beni Soleim. He was a weak ruler.
Moulay Idriss. A famous mosque of Fez, erected in honor of the great marabout of this name.
Moussa ben-Noſair. An Arab who led an army of Berbers to the conqueſt of Spain.
musharabiah. A screen made of carved wood or narrow pieces of wood assembled in lattice work. It is faſtened over the outside of windows to allow women to look outside without being seen.
M'zab. The country of the M'zabites in the Sahara; it comprises a group of oases and seven cities: Ghardaia, Beni-Isguen the holy, Berrian, Guerrara, Melika, Bou-Noura and El Ateuf.

Nejjarin. A famous and beautiful public fountain of Fez.
noksh-badida. An ornament of carved plaſter used on walls and ceilings.
nouala. A round hut used by the semi-nomads of Morocco. It is made of a frame work of branches covered with a thick layer of thatch; it is often plaſtered with mud on the inside.

Oudaia. The Kasbah of the Oudaia in Rabat, a fortress built around a medieval ribat or monaſtery-fort. Little is left of the original building except the huge and beautiful gate guarding one of the entrances to the city.
oued. A river, often only a dry bed.
Ouled-Naïls or *Ouled Nayls.* This is the name of a chain of mountains in the Saharan Atlas, and of the tribes who inhabit these mountains and the neighboring territory. The Ouled-Naïls are apparently of Arab descent. They are famous on account of a ſtrange tribal cuſtom by which their young girls go into the cities of the Sahara and even North to the coaſt to earn a dowry as dancing girls of ill repute. After this ſtrange interlude which in no way affects their reputation at home they return to their people to marry and to live according to the ſtrict ſtandards of the Moslems. As a result the name of Ouled-Naïls is applied indiscriminately to all women of easy morals in North Africa.

Qal'a. Another form of Kalaa.

rabala. A horse saddle.
Ramadan. The Moslem Lent.
reggam. A professional male rug weaver.
Riff. A mountainous diſtrict of Morocco and the Berber inhabitants of that diſtict.
Roumi (f. *Roumia*). Literally Roman; this name is applied to all foreigners by the North African natives.

Saadian. Dynasty came to power in Fez in 1518; the most famous of the Saadian princes was Ahmed el Mansur el Dhehebi, the Victorious, the Golden. The dynasty ruled from 1518 to 1659.

sahn. A court with a fountain for ablutions in connection with a mosque.

Sedrata. Capital of the Ibadite kingdom in the Tenth century.

seminto. Green leather.

Sétif. A city on the High Plateaux, antique Setifis.

shebka. Means net; a network of hills such as the M'zab.

sheik. In North Africa a sheik is a religious leader, the chief of a Moslem brotherhood.

Sidi el-Haloui. A mosque of Tlemcen built in 1353.

Sidi Okba, Okba ben-Nafi. The fiercest of Moslem leaders, who called himself the Messenger of Mahomed, entered North Africa some time about 670 and founded Kairouan. Later he made a rapid raid through Numidia and the Mauretanias forcing the populations to accept the Islamic dogma, cutting the ears and the fingers of their chiefs and taking many hostages as he went.

It is said that when he reached the Atlantic he spurred his horse into the waves taking Allah to witness that he could carry no further the banner of Mahomed. On his way back he unwisely split his army in two parts and was set upon by a force of Berbers led by Koceila, king of the Aourebas, an Aurès tribe who had been especially maltreated by Okba. Koceila, once a prisoner, had escaped and had sworn revenge. He overtook his enemy near the present oasis of Biskra and defeated him. Okba was killed.

Many years later an Arab witch pretended to locate the spot where the Arab leader had been buried and a mosque was erected there to the memory of Sidi Okba in the oasis of the same name. In this mosque, considered a most holy spot next to Mecca, an elaborate monument stands which Moslems believe to be the tomb of the saint.

Sidjilmassa. The capital of a Berber kingdom, in Morocco.

Sofrite. An independent Berber kingdom established in the Eighth century in the Tafilalet, in Morocco, with capital at Sidjilmassa.

Souf. A district in the Sahara on the border of Tunisia and Algeria; it is a desert of sand dunes, its most important settlement is El Oued.

Sous. A mountainous district of southwestern Morocco.

suk (in Morocco *sokko*). A native market, also the place where the market is held.

Tafilalet or *Tafilelt.* A district situated south of the Moroccan Atlas, on the edge of the desert, the center of a Berber kingdom in the Eighth century.

Tamanrasset. A point in the Ahaggar Mountains where Father de Foucault lived for a number of years. Viscount Charles de Foucault gave up a career as officer in the French army to become a monk and a missionary to the Tuaregs. He was the first man to live among the fierce Ahaggar tribes whose esteem he won, so that he has now become one of their heroes and the subject of many of their songs. In 1917 he was murdered by members of another Tuareg tribe enflamed against this Frenchman by German agents. He is buried at Tamanrasset where he had built his hermitage. Near his grave is that of a former school mate and friend of his, General Laperrine, who crashed there while attempting one of the first airplane flights over the Sahara.

While at Tamanrasset Father de Foucault made valuable observations on meteorological conditions and on the flora of the Ahaggar. He also collected much of the folk lore of the Tuaregs and prepared a French-Tamashek dictionary. During his youth this fearless man had crossed Morocco in disguise before Morocco was opened to foreigners.

Tamashek. The Tuareg language.

Tanit. A Carthaginian goddess, corresponding somewhat to Isis and Venus.

Taourirt-Amokrane. Means the big village. It is a Berber town in Kabylie.

Tarik. A Berber chief who was among the first to accept Islam. He led an expedition against Spain to conquer and convert.

tarikh. Tuareg camel saddle.

tellis. A rough textile made into pack bags.

thibuk'alin. A Berber pottery made of two or three connected jugs.

Tiaret. Called by the M'zabites *Tagdemt.* It was the first capital of the Ibadites and was founded in the second half of the Eighth century. It is situated near Tahert in western Algeria.

tifinagh or *tifinar.* The ancient Berber or Lybian script.

tighemt. A fortified house in the Moroccan Atlas.

timchent. A natural lime found in the M'zab.

Tin Hinan. The mother of all the Tuaregs, a semi-legendary ruler of the Tuareg whose tomb is at Abelessa.

Tinmal. A village of the High Atlas, which was the cradle of the Almohade dynasty.

Tipaza. A city of the North African coast west of Algiers.

tizeft. A varnish applied on Berber pottery after firing.

Tizi-Ouzou. The capital of Grande Kabylie.

Tlemcen. A city of western Algeria, near the Moroccan border, once a cultured capital.

Touat. A group of oases in central Sahara, of which the principal center is In Salah.

touïzab. A rug weaving bee.

Tuareg. The author is using the most generally accepted form although Tuareg is a plural noun, the singular of which is Targui. This is the name of several Berber tribes who inhabit the center of the Sahara. It is generally believed that these people fled to the desert to escape the Arab invaders. The name Tuareg given them by the Arabs means "Forgotten of God." They call themselves Imohar or nobles. They have terrorized the Sahara while robbing caravans and raiding oases, because of their extreme mobility. On their swift *meharis* they cover unbelievable distances even during the hot season. Their folk lore is very interesting and reminiscent of the epic songs of medieval Europe. Although Moslems they have a high regard for women; in fact they live under a matriarchal system.

Zaïan. A Berber tribe of the Middle Atlas.

zaouia. A religious center for the members of a Moslem brotherhood. It is usually built near the tomb of the founder of the order, and includes a mosque, ablution courts, meeting rooms, caretakers' quarters and lodgings for the pilgrims and for the brothers who live there permanently. The powerful Moslem brotherhoods have some features in common with the monasteries of Christianity, but in many respects they are very different from them.

zelilidj or Turkish ſtitch. An embroidery ſtitch.

zellidj (Spanish *azulejos*). A form of mosaic work made by cutting small pieces out of slabs of enamelled terra cotta, then combining these vari-colored pieces to form designs. The *zellidjs* are used to decorate walls, floors, ceilings, benches, columns, fountains, etc.

zeriref. A diadem.

Zibans. A group of oases situated south of the Aurès, with its center at Biskra.

zina siara. An ornament made of two *hezimas* connected by chains supporting decorative placques and amulet boxes.

The inscription in *tifinagh* characters (copied by Oscar Brousse Jacobson) which forms the head bands on the title page and above chapters is a Tuareg prayer-poem which may be translated as follows:

"Allah! One and Merciful, grant thy humble
worshipper these blessings,
"That he be loved by her who is
the maid of maids,
"That his heart be stout on
the battlefield,
"That his sins be remitted on
Judgment Day!"

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY
New Delhi

N.C. 5 CT 17/11/76

"A book that is shut is but a block"

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY

GOVT. OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI.

Please help us to keep the book clean and moving.

S. B., 148, N. DELHI.